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THE KITÂB MASÂLIK AN-NAZAR

OF

SA'ÎD IBN HASAN

OF ALEXANDRIA.

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AT YALE UNIVERSITY, MAY 1, 1903,

BY

SIDNEY ADAMS WESTON.

[From the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. xxiv, 1903, pp.
312-383.]

New Haven
1903

~~See 444.6~~
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TO THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER.

The Kitáb Masálik an-Nazar of Sa'id ibn Hasan of Alexandria. Edited for the first time and translated with Introduction and Notes.—By SIDNEY ADAMS WESTON.

FOR the Moslems, Mohammed is the great prophet whom the inspired writers of the Old Testament announced. They believe that it was definitely predicted in the Hebrew scriptures that he should be born of the offspring of Ishmael, and be supreme over all the peoples of the world. So important is this belief, that many of the Jewish converts to Islam have felt that they were performing valuable service to their new faith if they adduced arguments and passages from their sacred scriptures in support of the proposition. The following treatise, the work of one Sa'id ibn Hasan of Alexandria, furnishes an interesting and important illustration of this attempt.

In order more clearly to understand the treatise, it will be well first to consider some facts regarding its author, the customs and issues of his time, the date of his book and the special reason for its composition; and further, the argument which he presents, and the characteristic features of his work as a whole.

Sa'id was an Alexandrian Jew converted to Islam in May, 1298 A.D., the immediate cause of his conversion being his miraculous recovery from a serious illness, as he graphically relates (Ms., pp. 32 ff.). The time of his conversion, as well as the character of the man, was well fitted to bring forth such a controversial essay as his, for at that time the Oriental Moslem was very troublesome. Three years previously there had been converted to Islam Ghâzân Khân, great grandson of the conquering Mongol Hûlâghû and son of Ilkhân Arghûn. A little later he triumphantly entered Syria, where he destroyed the power of the Egyptian prince Al-Malik An-Nâsir Kîlâwûn, who ruled over that country. But in 1303 this Egyptian prince returned to Syria with his army and inflicted on the Mongols a bloody defeat near Ghabâghib in the Hauran (Ms. p. 35). See Müller, *Islam* ii., p. 262 f., and Goldziher, *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xxx., p. 5.

Moreover, Sa'id's conversion was near the close of the century, a most important time from the Moslem point of view, for they believe that at the turning of each century God will send a regenerator of Islam (Goldziher, *ibid.*). Their makers of apocalypses predicted political revolutions for these times, and prophecies of this kind stirred up the Moslems at the end of each century.

All these events had a great influence on Sa'id. He was a fanatic and a zealous partisan of Islam. Toward other faiths he was extremely intolerant. His ideal was for Islam to be the supreme and only religion; all others must be blotted out. Hence he advocated closing the temples of other faiths, together with those extreme measures enforced from time to time in Islam against other beliefs.

The rights of the Jews and Christians in regard to their houses of prayer, which Sa'id so vigorously attacked, were a vital point of controversy throughout the history of Islam. A brief consideration of those rights will make clear the issues of his own time.

Among the restrictions which 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb imposed on the Jews and Christians of Syria is found the important clause: "In paying the tax of tolerance the synagogues and churches existing at the time of the Conquest shall be respected provided the worship has been peaceful, and provided they do not build any other temples." Yet this provision was not very strictly enforced, and even so far back as the time of the Omayyads the prohibition was not very binding. Under the Abbasids the law was more severe toward the other faiths, because the Abbasid rulers looked upon the government as a religious corporation, and hence believed themselves to have spiritual as well as temporal oversight. They put forth the idea of excluding unbelievers from every official function, and of strictly enforcing the law prohibiting Jews and Christians from constructing new temples (Goldziher, *ibid.*).

But the fact that from time to time orders were given to "destroy all the churches built since the introduction of Islam," shows that churches had been built, and that the law varied in its severity at different times. This indecision in the application of the religious law was a source of much trouble for non-Moslem inhabitants of Moslem countries, and especially for the

Jews. It constantly exposed them to fanaticism, and they never knew when they were secure in their rights. Moreover, it was often very difficult for the government to restrain the fanaticism of the Ulemas, even when it so desired.

It seemed to Sa'ïd that the time (the end of the seventh century of the Hijra) was ripe for a renewal of these agitations against other beliefs. In 1305 A.D. the Egyptian prince Al-Malik An-Nâsir returned from his victorious campaign in Syria, and made a proclamation which renewed the law of exception imposed on the Jews and Christians. This ordinance was proclaimed in all his provinces from the boundary of Nubia to the Euphrates. Although he made no mention of the restriction concerning religious buildings, and evidently had no intention of prohibiting Jews and Christians from using and keeping their houses of prayer in order, nevertheless the people immediately began to maltreat the Jews and Christians, and the fanatics began to destroy the churches and synagogues. The Ulemas said that only the churches and synagogues which had stood before the rise of Islam had a right to remain; all others ought to be torn down. Thus many churches in Egypt and Syria were destroyed and the rest closed until on the intervention of certain powerful Christians the vandalism was stopped and the churches reopened (see Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv., pp. 270-272).

The authorities, however, were too tolerant for Sa'ïd, who sympathized with the Ulemas. He ominously predicted the coming of rebellions at the end of 700 lunar years of the Hijra (Ms., p. 35), basing his prediction on a pseudo-prophecy from the Torah. It was apparently his purpose to foster an outbreak against the churches and synagogues of the Christians and Jews. But seeing that this would not succeed, unless the government approved, he resorted to writing, and this treatise is an expression of his feelings.

His work, which he says he often called "Al-Muhîṭ" (the Comprehensive), was composed in April, 1320 A.D., twenty-two years after his conversion and two years before the catastrophe which he fears may befall the kingdom of the Moslems "at the end of 700 solar years of the Hijra" (Ms., p. 36). It was written in the Mosque of the Omayyads at Damascus. No doubt he found there a people in sympathy with his aims and

ideas, and hence an excellent field for promulgating his doctrines and arousing agitations.

To prove Mohammed's right to the prophetic office is the main purpose of his dissertation. Having done this, all the rest necessarily follows; that is, his religion is the supreme and only one; other religions must be crushed, their houses of worship closed, and the images and pictures destroyed. That is what he expressly says or practically implies. His arguments for the prophetic office of Mohammed are based on passages from the Old Testament, which he changes and interprets to suit his purposes, after the manner of his contemporaries. In brief they are as follows:

1. (Ms., p. 3.) God showed Noah Mohammed among the prophets who were to come, and promised Noah that for the sake of this prophet he would never again destroy the earth by a flood.

2. (Ms., p. 3-4.) God promised Abraham that he would give the land to his offspring. He also promised him that he would bless Ishmael and multiply him and make him great, and make his offspring as numerous as the stars of the heavens and that from him should come Mohammed. In regard to the two words **גָּדוֹל גָּדוֹל**, which occur in the prophecy about Ishmael (Gen. 17²⁰) and to which Sa'id attaches great importance, he affirms that some interpret "Ahmed, Ahmed," others "Very, Very," still others "Great, Great," and of the offspring of Ishmael there is none greater than Mohammed.

3. (Ms., p. 4-5.) God appeared to Hagar at the water-spring and promised her that from her child [Ishmael] should come Mohammed, and that his offspring should be as numerous as the stars of the heavens.

4. (Ms., p. 5.) Jacob gathered his children when he was about to die, and said he would tell them of the things to happen in the last time. His children promised him that they would continue to serve his God and the God of his fathers, Abraham, *Ishmael* and Isaac. From the fact that Jacob's prediction is not found in the Torah, the author argues that it, with the name of the prophet Mohammed, has been fraudulently removed from this place.

5. (Ms., p. 5.) Balaam is made to say, "Behold a star appearing from the family of Ishmael, and a tribe of the Arabs

helping him." At his (Mohammed's) appearance the earth quaked (that is, Nature recognized the great prophet).

6. (Ms., p. 6.) God told Moses to tell the Israelites that a prophet should be sent to them from the descendants of their brother Ishmael, and that they should obey him.

7. (Ms., p. 6-7.) The true interpretation of Deut. 33² is that "the mountains of Paran" are the mountains of Mecca, and "the myriads of his holy ones" are the people of the Ka'ba. Moreover, Mohammed is the only prophet who has appeared from that region.

8. (Ms., p. 7.) Moses fought with the Amalekites and was routed. But he prayed to God, asking for help through the intercession of Mohammed, and God answered his prayer for Mohammed's sake.

9. (Ms., p. 7.) Joshua's army was routed, and he, like Moses, asked help of God through the intercession of Mohammed, whereupon God gave him the victory.

10. (Ms., p. 8.) The sons of Ishmael are hailed as blessed because a prophet shall be sent from among them who shall be supreme over all the nations. Gen. 16¹² is cited as a proof of this statement, and it is shown that it points only to Mohammed.

11. (Ms., p. 9.) A passage said to be from the Psalms announces that a prophet of mercy shall be raised up.

12. (Ms., p. 9.) Isa. 1² is made to announce a similar promise.

13. (Ibid.) Elijah goes into the land of the Hijāz and there announces that a child shall be born of the offspring of Ishmael. His name shall be associated with the name of God and shall be known throughout the civilized world. This one is no other than Mohammed.

14. (Ms., p. 10.) The prophet Micha announces to Ahab that God is going to send a prophet whose name shall be associated with that of God, and that through him unbelief will cease in the land.

15. (Ms., p. 11.) Manasseh was an idolater. Being conquered in battle he was put inside one of his idols and was going to be roasted. His prayers to his other idols not being answered, he cried to God in the name of Mohammed. Then God saved him for the sake of Mohammed.

16. (Ms., p. 11-12.) Obadiah tells the Jews of the land of the Hijáz that God is going to send a prophet from the Arabs who will conquer and subdue them.

17. (Ms., p. 14.) In his sleep Jacob sees a mighty people ascending a heavenly ladder. God tells him they are the offspring of Ishmael.

18. (Ms., p. 15-16.) In the passage attributed to Ezekiel, but found in Isa. 42¹, "my servant" is interpreted as Mohammed.

Gen. 22³ is made to read, "Take thy son whom *I* love," etc. Sa'id says it must be Ishmael, because Isaac was not yet born, and Abraham loved only Ishmael.

19. (Ms., p. 16-17.) In opposing Jesus one of the Jewish rabbis gave as his reason the fact that Moses told them in his law that the prophet to come in the last time should be of the offspring of Ishmael.

20. (Ms., p. 19.) The author says he has diligently studied the Four Gospels, but has found no mention of Mohammed in them. This is to him a proof that the Gospels have been corrupted.

21. (Ms., p. 20-21.) When Moses went up the mount to die, God showed him those who should come till the resurrection. When he saw Mohammed, the passage Deut. 33³ was revealed, and the added interpretation given that the "fire" is the victorious sword of Mohammed, and the "light" is his law which guides aright.

22. (Ms., p. 23-24.) Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Daniel 2) is interpreted by Daniel. He tells the king that the angel who cut off the head of the image is the prophet who shall come and purify the earth from idolatry.

23. (Ms., p. 24.) Gen. 15⁹⁻¹⁰ is thus interpreted: The beasts are the peoples who preceded Mohammed and have perished. The birds signify Ishmael and his offspring, and their long continuance as a united and powerful people.

24. (Ms., p. 25.) On coming to life, the dry bones of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 37¹⁻¹⁰) testify that there is no God but Allah and that he has no partner.

25. (Ms., p. 26.) In the Torah Mohammed's name is **מֹחַד** **מֹחַד** (cf. argument No. 2); in the books of the prophets it is **יִשְׁמָעֵל** (Josiah!). However they translate it, of the offspring

of Ishmael there is none greater than Mohammed. The name **יְהוָה** is one of the names of God and is applied only to Mohammed beside.

Sa'id not only establishes to his own satisfaction Mohammed's right to the prophetic office, but he also vigorously condemns the use of images and pictures in the churches. In his characteristic manner he shows the evil effects and dire consequences of such a practice. A short summary of his statements is instructive:

1. (Ms., p. 7.) The golden cross taken from the booty of the Amalekites was the cause of Joshua's triple defeat. The same statement is again made on p. 18.

2. (Ms., p. 13.) The children of Israel were commanded by God to have neither idol, crucifix nor image.

3. (Ms., p. 18.) The Christians are like the unbelieving kings of old, who made pictures and images and thus brought about the destruction of their kingdoms.

4. (Ms., *ibid.*) God took away Solomon's kingdom because of a single picture which was in his house.

5. (*ibid.*) The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, did not ordain pictures and crucifixes.

6. (Ms., p. 19.) God warned the Israelites, saying: "Cursed is he who makes a cross or an image; cursed is he who worships them or allows their use."

7. (Ms., p. 28.) The cause of the destruction of the first temple was the making of images and likenesses and the killing of the prophets. (According to Sa'id, the causes of the destruction of the second temple were the dispute over the essence of the Creator, his attributes and word, and the denial of the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary.)

8. (Ms., p. 29.) The philosophers laid the foundation for the worship of idols, and they made pictures and images. (For Sa'id's philosophy and ideas of philosophers, see the section below.)

9. (Ms., p. 35.) God laid waste the kingdom of the Israelites partly because of pictures and images used by them. And God promised the prophets that pictures and images should be removed.

10. (Ms., p. 36.) The history of the Israelites has been that when they made pictures and images they were defeated by

their enemies; but when they effaced them and abandoned their use they were victorious and prospered.

For philosophy and philosophers in general our author had great antipathy. To him a "philosopher" seems to be any learned man or religious leader outside the faith of Islam. Thus he twice stigmatises Jeroboam as a philosopher, and ascribes his evil deeds to that fact. (Ms., pp. 21, 26.) He asserts that the philosophers are ignorant of the truth of prophecy and of the high station of the prophets; that they deny the Creator and lay the foundation for the worship of idols; that they are enemies of God and the apostles, and that they make pictures and likenesses (Ms., pp. 28-29). In short, they are a source of great evil.

In criticism of Sa'id's own philosophy, it is sufficient to say that his knowledge of the subject was very superficial. He uses the current language of his time, but adds nothing in ideas or terminology. His confused statements and pointless arguments show that he was in no way superior to most of his contemporaries and that through it all he was moved by an intense prejudice against that "way."

An interesting feature of the manuscript is the author's transliteration of Hebrew passages into Arabic. As his quotations from the Hebrew are quite numerous, a fairly complete basis of comparison is afforded. The accompanying table shows his scheme of transliteration, which it will be observed is phonetic.

Hebrew represented by Arabic

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Hebrew represented by Arabic

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Hebrew represented by Arabic		Hebrew represented by Arabic	
נ	ن	ק	ق
ס	س	ר	ر
ע	ع	ש	س
פ	ב	שׁ	ش
פ	ف	ת	ت
צ	ص	ת	ث

In the case of some of the consonants which are distinguished by diacritical points (ش and ذ, ح and خ, ت and ث), it often seems probable, or certain, that we have not the original transliteration before us. Copyists have introduced numerous changes. Thus, in page 10, lines 1 f., the letter ذ appears three times where the author himself must have intended ذ. Frequently a Hebrew word is divided, part standing on one line and part on the next, or the false division occurs in the middle of the line, as in 4_{aff.}, 6₈, 12_{10f.}, 15₁₃, 16₁, 16₇, 19₁₄, and elsewhere. This, again, is no doubt to be laid to the charge of the copyists. Wherever the name יהוה occurs, it is of course ארני that is transliterated.

In the reproduction of the Hebrew vowel-sounds, of course the paucity of Arabic vowel-signs makes itself felt. َ, for example, has to do duty for ַ, ֶ, ִ, ֵ, ֶ, and in two cases apparently for ֶ (כלל = كال, 8₁₀; الاهيم = آلهيم, 22₁₀). Moreover, the equivalents of the Hebrew vowels are not even given consistently (see, for example, 4₆ f.). Any table of equivalents would, therefore, have very little value. The way in which the vowel *ō* is passed over (because of the lack of an exact equivalent) is especially noticeable. Thus את = אֶת (several occurrences); יאז = יאז, 8₁₀; עז = عذ, 17₁₀, etc. But in 8₁₀, 16₁, בו is transliterated by بو, while in 15₁₃ it is (apparently) represented by ب alone. لغى = לגוי, 5₂; לכימ = לגויים, 16₁. Notice also باورص for בארץ, 3₁₀.

It is evident that Sa'id had no great learning. Of the history of the Jews and the narratives of the Old Testament he has only

a limited knowledge. He confuses the chronology of the Jewish kings and prophets, and often attributes the character and deeds of one person to another. Moreover, his Arabic is impure from a classical point of view. It has many vulgar expressions and grammatical errors and is not that of a careful scholar.

The manuscript here published is not the original, but a copy which appears to have been made some time in the 8th or 9th century of the Hijra, although the exact date is not indicated. It is written in the *neskhi* script and in an easily legible hand. Vowel points and diacritical marks are often lacking, but in obscure passages they are usually supplied. The copyist has sometimes left out words, and some of the grammatical errors are no doubt due to him. He seems to have had little if any knowledge of Hebrew. Sa'id's treatise forms a part of No. 700 of the Landberg Collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University library. It is one of five essays transcribed in succession by the same hand, and bound together. Of these, this is the longest, consisting of 37 pages, beginning on fol. 28b of the manuscript. The written page measures 12½ cm. × 9 cm. The passages transliterated from the Hebrew are written in red ink.

Numerous extracts from this work have already been published by Professor Goldziher, of Budapest, in the *Revue des Études Juives*, xxx, 1 ff. These extracts are the following (the Roman numerals are the numbers of the sections in the Appendix to his article):

Ms., 5, 4—11;	Goldziher, App. vi.
“ 5, 12—6, 1;	“ “ vii.
“ 7, 3—8;	“ “ viii.
“ 9, 11—10, 8;	“ “ ix.
“ 15, 6;	“ “ x.
“ 16, 5—7;	“ “ xi.
“ 19, 2—5;	“ “ xii.
“ 19, 14;	“ “ xiii.
“ 25, 15—26, 2;	“ “ xiv.
“ 32, 9—35, 4;	“ “ i.
“ 35, 5—37, 9;	“ “ iii.
“ 37, 9—15;	“ “ iv.
“ 37 margin;	“ “ v.

In my translation the reader will note that I have omitted the formulas of blessing except in a few special instances. The Hebrew passages I have transliterated from the Arabic of the manuscript. The translation follows the original closely and at the same time endeavors to give a clear English rendering.

Finally, in regard to the emendations it must be remembered that where there is but one copy to work with the more difficult is the task of emendation and the greater the liability to mistake. Words and passages supplied by conjecture I have enclosed in brackets.

I desire to express my gratitude to Professor Torrey, of Yale University, for his personal interest and his valuable suggestions and criticisms, which have greatly aided me in the production of this dissertation. I would acknowledge also my indebtedness to Professor Goldziher, for the assistance I have derived from his most instructive article, to which I have made frequent reference.

ARABIC TEXT.

كتاب مسالك النظر في نبوة سيد البشر تصنيف
(Ms., p. 1)
العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى سعيد بن حسن الإسكندراني رضي
الله عنه وأرضاه وجعل الجنة مثواه والنار مثوى أعداءه^١ لمكبد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ربِّ تَمِّمْ بِخَيْرٍ آمِينَ. ٢ الحمد لله
ربِّ العالمين والصلاة والتسليم على سيدنا محمد خاتم
النبيين وعلى آله وأصحابه وأنصاره وأزواجه^٤ الطاهرات أمهات
المؤمنين وعلي التابعين لهم بإحسان^٥ الي يوم الدين.

^١ For أعداءه, to rhyme with أرضاه and مثواه.

نَبْتَدِي بِاللَّهِ مُسْتَعِينًا بِبَرَكَاتِ الْإِسْلَامِ⁶ فِي إِظْهَارِ نَبْوَةِ سَيِّدِ
 الْأَنَامِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَطْلَبِ⁷ الصَّادِقِ
 الْأَمِينِ الَّذِي بَشَّرَتْ بِظَهْوَرِهِ أَنْبِيَاءُ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ⁸ تَصْدِيقًا
 لِقَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ وَمَا نُرْسِلُ الْمُرْسَلِينَ⁹ إِلَّا مُبَشِّرِينَ
 وَمُنذِرِينَ وَقَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى وَإِذْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ (Ms., p. 2) مِيثَاقَ
 النَّبِيِّينَ لَمَا آتَيْنُكُمْ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَحِكْمَةٍ ثُمَّ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مُصَدِّقٌ
 لِمَا مَعَكُمْ لَتُؤْمِنُنَّ بِهِ وَلَتَنْصُرُنَّهُ قَالَ أَأَقْرَرْتُمْ وَأَخَذْتُمْ عَلَيَّ¹⁰ ذَلِكَُمْ
 إِمْرِي قَالُوا أَقْرَرْنَا قَالَ فَاشْهَدُوا وَأَنَا مَعَكُمْ مِنَ الشَّاهِدِينَ
 فَضَّلُ أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ⁵ وَسَلَامُهُ بَعَثَهُمْ
 اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى بِالْبَرَاهِينِ الرَّاضِحَةِ⁶ وَالْحَكْمِ الْقَاطِعَةِ
 وَبَيَّنُّوا وَصَرَّحُوا وَنَطَقُوا بِالْأَمْثَالِ تَقْرِيبًا⁷ لِلْأَذْهَانِ فَلَمَّا قَصَّ اللَّهُ
 سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى قِصَّةَ آدَمَ عَلَيْهِ⁸ السَّلَامِ عَلَى مُوسَى فِي السَّفَرِ
 الْأُولِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ أَعْلَمَهُ بِأَنَّ آدَمَ⁹ لَمَّا كَانَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ كَانَ
 يَتَكَلَّمُ بِاللِّسَانِ الْعَرَبِيِّ فَلَمَّا أُهْبِطَ بِهِ¹⁰ نَسِيَ اللِّسَانَ الْعَرَبِيَّ
 وَتَكَلَّمَ بِالسُّرْيَانِيِّ فَحَزِنَ حَزْنًا شَدِيدًا¹¹ عَلَيَّ فَقَدَهُ اللِّسَانَ
 الْعَرَبِيَّ فَأَوْحَى اللَّهُ إِلَيْهِ يَا آدَمُ لَا تَحْزَنْ¹² فَإِنَّ هَذَا لِسَانَ أَهْلِ
 الْجَنَّةِ فِي الْجَنَّةِ سَيَكُونُ مِنْ دُرِّيَّتِكَ مَنْ يَتَكَلَّمُ بِهِ¹³ وَيَكُونُوا مِنْ

الجنة أو أهل الجنة فضل¹⁴ ومما يدل علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم في قصة نوح عليه السلام¹⁵ في السفر الأول من التوراة بعد قصة آدم لما طلع من السفينة اعتزل عن نسايه خوفاً علي ذريته من العرق من طوفان¹⁶ آخر فأوحى الله اليه يا نوح أرجع الي أهلك فإنني لا أهلك الأرض¹⁷ بعد¹⁸ وإن الله أراه القوس الذي يظهر في الغمام وقال له هذا عهدي بأن لا أهلك الأرض بطوفان وإن الله عز وجل أراه الأنبياء الذين يخرجون من جملتهم محمد صلي الله عليه وسلم وقال له من أجل هذا النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم لا أهلك الأرض بطوفان أبداً فضل¹⁹ ومما يدل علي نبوته وعموم دعوته صلي الله عليه وسلم ما جاء في السفر الأول في قصة إبراهيم الخليل عليه الصلاة والسلام لما نجا من نار النمرود تجلّي له ربّه قايلاً باللسان العبراني قوم هت²⁰ هلاخ باروص لاركه ولرحبه²¹ كي لخوا اتننا²² تفسير ذلك قم اسلك في الأرض طولاً وعرضاً لنسلك نعطيتها²³ فلما قص إبراهيم هذا الرؤيا علي سارة وكان الخطاب في المنام علمت سارة [أن] وعد

^a Ms. الطوفان.

^b Ms. بعدة.

^c Ms. هب.

^d Ms. الثنان.

^e Ms. تعطيتها.

اللَّهِ¹⁴ حَقٌّ فَقَالَتْ لِابْرَهِيمَ أَخْرِجْ هَاجِرَ وولدها عني فقيل
¹⁵ لِابْرَهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ سَارَةٌ وَأَرْسَلَهُمَا إِلَى أَرْضِ الْحِجَازِ
 (Ms., p. 4) وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ جَدَّ جَلَالَتُهُ خَاطِبُ ابْرَهِيمَ قَائِلًا

بِاللِّسَانِ¹⁶ الْعِبْرَانِيِّ¹⁷ كِي بِي اسْحَقِ يَقَارِي لِحَا زَارِعِ تَفْسِيرُ
 ذَلِكَ¹⁸ إِنْ اسْحَقِ سَيَكُونُ لَكَ مِنْهُ نَسْلٌ¹⁹ وَأَمَّا إِسْعِيلُ فَإِنِّي
 بَارَكْتُهُ²⁰ وَكَثَّرْتُهُ وَعَظَّمْتُهُ وَجَعَلْتُ ذُرِّيَّتَهُ كُنُجُومِ السَّمَاءِ وَمِنْهُ
 مُحَمَّدٌ²¹ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهَذِهِ الْآيَةُ بِاللِّسَانِ الْعِبْرَانِيِّ

وَلِ²² يَشْمَاعِلَ شَمْعَتَيْخَا هِنِّي²³ بِيْرَاخْتِي ائ²⁴ وَهَفْرِيْتِي
 ائ²⁵ وَهَرَبَاتِي ائ²⁶ بِمَازَانٍ²⁷ شَرَحَ الْعُلَمَاءُ²⁸ الْمَفْسَّرُونَ لِلُّغَةِ

الْعِبْرَانِيِّ هَذِهِ اللَّفْظَتَيْنِ²⁹ الَّذِي³⁰ هِيَ مَوْنٌ³¹ مَوْنٌ³² مِنْهُم مَن
 قَالَ أَحْمَدُ أَحْمَدٌ وَمِنْهُم مَن قَالَ جِدًّا جِدًّا [وَمِنْهُمْ]³³ مَن
 قَالَ عَظِيمًا عَظِيمًا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ ظَهَرَ مِنْ نَسْلِ إِسْعِيلَ أَعْظَمُ

¹⁴ Ms. بلسان.¹⁵ Ms. نسلا.¹⁶ Ms. وك.¹⁷ Ms. هتي.¹⁸ For Heb. אִתְּ.

¹⁹ I. e. مَازَانٍ? Cf. the transliteration just below. Notice also the way in which the preceding word is written in the Ms. (with the final form of م).

²⁰ Ms. العظتين.²¹ For التي, as occasionally elsewhere in the sequel.²² Ms. مَوْنٌ.

¹¹ مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَصَلِّ وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ ¹² عَلِيَّ
 نَبَوْتَهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَمَّا خَرَجَتْ هَاجِرٌ مُتَوَجِّهَةً إِلَيَّ
¹³ أَرْضِ الْحِجَازِ وَحَصَلَ لَهَا الْعَطْشُ وَرَمَتْ الطِّفْلَ مِنْ ¹⁴ عَلِيٍّ
 كَتَفِهَا مَكْتُوبٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ أَرْسَلَ إِلَيْهَا مَلَائِكَةً أَنْبَعُوا
¹⁵ الْعَيْنَ فَشَرِبَتْ وَسَقَّتْ الطِّفْلَ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ جَدُّ ¹⁶ جَلَالُهُ خَاطَبَهَا
 (Ms., p. 5) قَائِلًا يَا هَاجِرُ قَوْمِي سَيِّئَاتُ هُنَاعِرٍ وَهَاجِرِي
 اتَّ ¹⁷ يَأْذِيحُ ¹⁸ بُو كِي لَعَى ¹⁹ كَاذِلْ أَسِيْمَانُ ²⁰ تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ
²¹ قَوْمِي أَحْبَبِي هَذَا الطِّفْلَ وَاحْتَفِظِي بِهِ فَإِنَّ مِنْهُ مُحَمَّدًا
 وَذَرِيَّتَهُ ²² كُنْجُومِ السَّمَاءِ فَصَلِّ وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلِيَّ نَبَوْتَهُ صَلَّى
 اللَّهُ ²³ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي السِّفْرِ الْأَوَّلِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ فِي قِصَّةِ يَعْقُوبَ
²⁴ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامَ لَمَّا دَنَتْ وَفَاتَهُ جَمَعَ أَوْلَادَهُ وَقَالَ لَهُمْ تَقَرَّبُوا
 إِلَيَّ أَقُولُ لَكُمْ مَا يَظْهَرُ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ فَلَمَّا اجْتَمَعُوا ²⁵ قَالَ
 لَهُمْ مَا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ بَعْدِي قَالُوا نَعْبُدُ إِلَهَكَ وَالْهَآءُ آبَائِكَ
²⁶ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْعَاقَ وَإِسْحَاقَ إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا وَلَمْ يُوْجَدْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ
²⁷ أَنَّهُ ذَكَرَ شَيْءٌ ²⁸ مِمَّا وَعَدَ بِهِ بَلْ مَكْتُوبٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ أَنَّهُ دَعَا لَهُمْ
²⁹ وَتَوَفَّى فَعَلِمَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَنَّهُمْ مَكَّوْا اسْمَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ

^a Ms. حلا. ^b Ms. ياديح. ^c Ms. لعى. ^d Ms. اسيماب.

^e Ms. محمد.

وسلم من هذه ¹² الآية فصلٌ ومما يدل علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم ¹³ في السفر الرابع من التوراة في قصة بلعام بن باعوراء قايلاً ¹⁴ انظروا كوكباً قد ظهر من آل إسمعيل وعصده سبط من العرب ¹⁵ ولظهوره تزلزلت الأرض ومن عليها^a من نسل إسمعيل إلا محمداً صلي (Ms., p. 6)

الله عليه وسلم وما تزلزلت إلا لظهوره صلي الله عليه وسلم ² فصلٌ ومما يدل علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم ³ نص صريح في السفر الخامس من التوراة كلم الله موسى تكليماً قل لبني إسرائيل باللسان العبراني نايي^b اقيم لا هام مقارب ⁵ احيي^c خام مبني يشماعل^d تفسير ذلك سنرسل إليكم نبياً من قرابتكم من أولاد أخيك إسمعيل سأجعل نطقي⁷ بفيه وبلساني العبراني وسمتي دباري بفيوا⁸ بلو يشماعو سأجعل له نطقي بفيه وإياه اتبعوا⁹ فصلٌ ومما يدل علي نبوته وعموم دعوته¹⁰ صلي الله عليه

^a The copyist has here omitted some words.

^b Ms. تايي.

^c Ms. احيي.

^d Ms. يشماعل.

^e So the Ms. But perhaps originally بفيوايلو, i. e. בְּפִי וְאֵינִי; see the translation and the note there.

وسلم نَصَّ صَرِيحٌ وبه ختمت التوراة اذوناي¹¹ مَسِيناي با
 وازراح مَسَاعِير هَفِيع¹² ما هار باران¹² واثا ما ربيت^b قدش^c
 تفسير ذلك جاء الله من سينا وأشوف¹³ من ساعير واستعلن
 من جبال فاران وظهر من رِبَوَاتٍ¹⁴ قدسه عن يمينه نور
 وعن شماله نار عليه تجتمع الأمم¹⁵ واليه تجتمع الشعوب
 واتفق أهل اللغة العبرانية أن (Ms., p. 7) جبال فاران هي
 جبال مكة وربوات قدسه هو [اهل] البيت الحرام ولم² يكن ظهر
 من هناك إلا محمداً صلى الله عليه وسلم فصل³ ومما يدل
 علي نبوته صلى الله عليه وسلم لما حارب موسى العمالقة
 [و] انكسرت¹ بنو إسرائيل توصل موسى الي الله سبحانه وتعالى
 مُسْتَشْفَعاً⁵ بمحمد صلى الله عليه وسلم قايلاً باللسان^d
 العبراني زخر لاعبداخا⁶ لابراهيم وlishmael تفسير ذلك اذكر
 عهد ابراهيم بالذي⁷ وعدته به من نسل اسمعيل أن تنصر
 جيوش المؤمنين فاستجاب⁸ الله دعاءه ونصر بني إسرائيل
 علي العمالقة ببركات محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم فصل ومما
 يدل علي نبوته صلى الله عليه وسلم أن يوسع عليه السلام

^a Ms. هفيع.

^b Ms. ماريت.

^c Ms. قدش.

^d Ms. بلسان.

^e Ms. لاعبداخ.

خليفة موسى لما فتح الشام وحارب¹¹ العمالقة انكسر^a جيشه بسبب خيانتهم العهد وأخذ رجل من¹² جيش يوسع صليبا من ذهب من غنائم العمالقة فانكسر جيشه¹³ ثلاث مرار بسبب الصليب الذي غل وان يوسع توصل الي الله¹⁴ تعالي مستشفعا بمحمد صلي الله عليه وسلم باقتداءه باثار موسى عليه السلام فاستجاب الله دُعَاؤَهُ وَنَصَرَهُ وَأَوْحَى اللَّهُ إِلَي يُوسَعَ^b (Ms., p. 8) عليه السلام إن بني اسرائيل خانوا عهدي بغلهم من الغنائم² فإن الغنائم كانت مكرمة عليهم فكشف يوسع خبر جيشه³ فوجد عند رجل منهم صليبا من ذهب فقتله يوسع وصلبه وانتصروا⁴ علي العمالقة فصل ومما يدل علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم ما جاء في زبور داود عليه السلام طوبى لكم يا بني اسمعيل⁶ طوبى لكم سيبعث منكم نبي تكون يده عالية علي كدل الأمم⁷ وكدل الأمم تحت يده وباللسان⁴ العبراني في السفر الأول⁸ من التوراة في قصة اسمعيل عليه السلام أن الله وعد إبراهيم⁹ أن ولده اسمعيل

^a Ms. انكسرت.^b Ms. adds عليه.^c Ms. الأمم, and similarly very often.^d Ms. بلسنان.

تكون يدهُ عاليةً علي الكُلِّ وهو قوله¹⁰ تعالي يا ذ بكُلِّ^a ويا ذ^b
 كال بو^c وعدل بنا خل^d احو^e يشكن^e تفسير ذلك بالعربي يدهُ
 عَلِيَّةٌ علي كَلِّ الأُمم¹² وكَلِّ الأُمم تحت يدهِ وبجميع مساكنِ
 إِخْوَتِهِ يَسْكُنُ وَمِنَ المَعْلُومِ¹³ أَنَّ إِسْمَاعِيلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمْ يَكُنْ
 ظَهَرَ لَهُ مُلْكٌ وَلَا عَلَتْ يَدُهُ عَلِي يَدِ إِخْوَتِهِ¹⁴ وَلَا نَزَلَ إِلَي الشَّامِ
 وَلَا سَكَنَ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا لِمُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
¹⁵ وَأُمَّتُهُ هُمُ الَّذِينَ سَكَنُوا بِمَسَاكِينِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ بِبَصْرَ وَالشَّامِ وَهَذَا
 (Ms., p. 9) بَرَهَانٌ قَطْعِيٌّ عَلِي نَبَوْتِهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
 فصل وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلِي نَبَوْتِهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا جَاءَ
 فِي زَبُورِ دَاوُدَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَظَمُوا³ اللهُ كَلِّ الأُمم
 وَوَحِدُوا اللهُ يَا أَهْلَ الأَرْضِ سَيُبْعَثُ لَكُمْ نَبِيٌّ الرَّحْمَةَ
 فصل وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلِي نَبَوْتِهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا جَاءَ
⁵ فِي صَحْفِ شَعِيَا^f عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى عَلِي لِسَانَهُ
 بِاللِّسَانِ⁶ العِبْرَانِيِّ شَمَعُوا شَامَايِمَ وَهِيَ أَرِزْنِي أَرْضُ⁷ تَفْسِيرُ
 ذَلِكَ اسْمَعُوا يَا سَمَوَاتِ وَقَرِّي⁸ يَا أَرْضُ لِمَاذَا تَقْلُقِي سَيُبْعَثُ

^a Ms. يكل. ^b Ms. وياذ. ^c Ms. يو. ^d Ms. حل.

^e Ms. تسكن. ^f Ms. شعباً. ^g Ms. وقري.

⁸ عليك نبياً به ترحيبي وأعلم أن الله بعث بعد موسى عليه
⁹ السلام أربعة وعشرين نبياً أولهم يوسع وآخرهم زكرياء الذي
¹⁰ نُشِرَ بالإنشمار وكل نبي منهم له صحيفة بالعبراني فيها
 مكتوب ¹¹ خبر ما مضى وما يأتي عن الله عز وجل فصل
 ومما ¹² يدل علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم ما جاء في صحف
 إلياس عليه السلام لما ¹³ خرج في سياحته وصحبته سبعون
 رجلاً فلما رأى العرب ¹⁴ بأرض الحجاز قال لمن معه انظروا
 هؤلاء الذين يملكون حصونكم ¹⁵ العظيمة فقالوا يا نبي الله ما
 الذي يكون مغبودهم فقال لهم عليه السلام (Ms., p. 10)

باللسان العبراني ياسيمو لانناي كابد ² ونهلات³ باييم يكيدي^b
 تفسير ذلك بالعربي^c يوحدوا ³ الله تبارك وتعالى فوق كل
 منبر عال فقالوا له تباعه⁴ يا نبي الله من يدلهم علي ذلك
 فقال لهم عليه السلام ⁵ بالعبراني بان نولد^d لبن يشماعيل
 يوشياهو⁶ سمو تفسير ذلك بالعربي ولد يولد من نسل

^a Ms. (וההלה) وتعلات.

^b For ١٦٦١. The Ms. has ن for ن three times in this transliterated passage. See the introduction.

^c Ms. بالعبراني.

^d Ms. تولو.

إِسْمَاعِيلُ⁷ اسْمُهُ مَقْرُونٌ بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ وَحَيْثُ يُذَكَّرُ اسْمُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
يُذَكَّرُ اسْمُهُ وَلَمْ⁸ يَكُنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا لِمُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
فصل وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَيَّ نُبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّ مَلِكًا مِنْ
مُلُوكِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يُسَمِّي أَحَاتَ¹⁰ وَكَانَ جَبَّارًا وَكَانَ يَقْتُلُ
الْأَنْبِيَاءَ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ فَكَفَرَ بِاللَّهِ مُوسَى¹¹ وَصَنَعَ الْأَصْنَامَ وَعَبَدَهَا
وَنَصَبَ مَذْبَحًا وَقَرَّبَ عَلَيْهِ قَرَابِينَ لِلْأَصْنَامِ [فَبَعَثَ اللَّهُ]⁹
عليه نَبِيًّا يُسَمِّي مِيخَا^b وَنَادَى بِصَوْتِ عَالٍ يَا مَذْبُحُ يَا مَذْبُحُ
قَالَ¹³ اللَّهُ لَكَ نَبِيًّا يَبْعَثُهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى يُوشِيَاهُو شَمُو¹⁴ تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ
اسْمُهُ مَقْرُونٌ بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فِي اسْمِهِ يَزَالُ الْكُفْرُ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ
وَتَصْدِيقُ كَلَامِي تَنْشَقُّ يَا مَذْبُحُ فَلَمْ يُتِمَّ النَّبِيُّ الْكَلَامَ إِلَّا¹⁵
وَالْمَذْبُحُ (Ms., p. 11) انشَقَّ وَخَرَجَ رَمَادُهُ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ وَأَرَادَ
الْمَلِكُ قَتْلَ النَّبِيِّ² فَيَبْسُتُ يَدُهُ فَصَلَّ وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَيَّ نُبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّى
اللَّهُ³ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّ مَلِكًا مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يُقَالُ لَهُ مَنَشَا
وَكَانَ شَعْبِيًا⁴ النَّبِيُّ جَدُّهُ وَأَنَّ مَنَشَا كَفَرَ وَعَبَدَ الْأَصْنَامَ وَأَنَّهُ خَرَجَ
لِمُكَارَبَةِ مَلِكًا وَأَنَّ⁵ ذَلِكَ الْمَلِكُ انْتَصَرَ عَلَيَّ مَنَشَا وَوَجَدَ الْمَلِكُ

* The copyist seems to have omitted some words such as are supplied in the brackets.

^b Ms. مِيخَا.

^c Ms. سَعِيًّا.

عند منشأ صنمًا من نحاسٍ⁶ مَجْرُوفٍ كان يعبدُهُ وأنَّ الملكَ
أخذ منشأ وجعلَهُ في جوفِ الصنمِ⁷ وأطلقَ تَحْتَهُ النيرانَ
فجعل منشأ يستغيثُ بسائرِ الأصنامِ فلم⁸ يُغيثوه فلما وصلتْ
النارُ الي قلبه توَسَّلَ الي اللهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وتعالى مُستشفعًا
بمحمّدٍ صلي الله عليه وسلم أَقْتَدَأَ بِأَثَارِ جَدِّهِ شَعْبِيَا عليه
السَّلَامِ فَأَجَارَهُ¹⁰ اللهُ وَأَنْجَدَهُ بِالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَخَلَصَهُ مِنَ الصنمِ
وَنَصَرَهُ عَلِي عَدْوَةً¹¹ بِبَرَكَاتِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلي الله عليه وسلم وَأَعَادَهُ
اللهُ الي مُلْكِهِ وَتَابَ تَوْبَةً¹² عَظِيمَةً فَصَلَّ وَمَا يَدُلُّ عَلِي نَبَوْتَهُ
صلي الله عليه وسلم¹³ أَنَّ نَبِيًّا مِنْ أَنْبِيَاءِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يُسَمِّي
عَوْذِيَاهُو¹⁴ تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ عَبْدُ اللهِ وَأَنَّهُ خَرَجَ فِي سِيَاحَتِهِ فَوَجَدَ
اليهودَ ساكنين¹⁵ بَارِضِ الْحِجَازِ وَأَنَّهُمْ أَضَافُوهُ فَبَكَى بُكَاءً
شَدِيدًا فَقَالُوا لَهُ مَا الَّذِي (Ms., p. 12) يُبْكِيكَ يَا نَبِيَّ اللهِ فَقَالَ
لَهُمْ نَبِيًّا بَعَثَهُ اللهُ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ تَعَصَّدَهُ² الْمَلَائِكَةُ يُخْرِبُ دِيَارَكُمْ
وَيَسْبِي حَرِيمَكُمْ وَيُوتِمُ أَبْنَاءَكُمْ فَطَلَبُوا³ اليهودَ قَتَلَهُ فَخَرَجَ مِنْهُمْ
هَارِبًا فَصَلَّ أَعْلَمُ⁴ أَنَّهُ لَمَّا انشَقَّ الْبَحْرُ لِمُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
وَعَرَقَ فِرْعَوْنَ وَجُنُودَهُ⁵ وَطَلَعَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ مِنَ الْجَانِبِ الْآخَرِ

^a Written with و in the Ms.

ثُمَّ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ⁶ تَجَلَّى لِمُوسَى مِنْ جَانِبِ الطُّورِ قَائِلًا يَا
 مُوسَى قَدْ لَبِنِي إِسْرَائِيلُ يَغْسِلُونَ⁷ أَثْوَابَهُمْ وَيُطَهِّرُونَ أَجْدَانَهُمْ
 وَيَعْتَزِلُونَ نِسَاءَهُمْ⁸ ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ فَإِنِّي أَنُتَجَلَّى لَهُمْ فَلَمَّا كَانَ فِي
 الْيَوْمِ الثَّلَاثِ عِنْدَ الصَّبَاحِ وَإِذَا الْأَرْضُ قَدْ اهْتَزَّتْ وَالجِبَالُ
 انْدَكَّتْ¹⁰ وَتَجَلَّى اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى قَائِلًا بِلِسَانِي الْعِبْرَانِي
 أَنْ¹¹ خِي^أ اذْنَابِي الْهَاهُنَا أَشَارَ هَصِيَّتِي خَا مَا¹² اَرْضِ مِصْرَايِمَ
 تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ أَنَا اللَّهُ إِلَهُكَ الَّذِي أَخْرَجْتُكَ مِنْ¹³ مِصْرَ لَا تَعْبُدْ
 إِلَهًا غَيْرِي فَإِنِّي غَيْرُ⁹ وَإِنَّ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ (Ms., p. 13) مَاثُرًا
 بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ ثُمَّ أَحْيَاهُمُ اللَّهُ فَقَالُوا اسْمِعْ أَنْتَ يَا مُوسَى² كَلَامَ اللَّهِ
 وَقَدْ لَنَا فَاثْنَا لَا نَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ نَسْمَعَ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ فَنَمُوتُ³ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ
 سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى عَاهَدَهُمْ سِتَّةً⁴ وَثَلَاثِينَ عَهْدًا عَلَيَّ¹ إِنْبَاعِ⁴ سِتَّةً
 إِبْرَاهِيمَ جَدِّهِمْ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا يَتَّخِذُوا صَنَمًا وَلَا صَلِيبًا
⁵ وَلَا صُورَةً وَإِنَّهُمْ قَبِلُوا الْعَهْدَ عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ وَإِنَّ الْأَرْضَ اسْتَقَرَّتْ
⁶ وَارْتَفَعَ عَنْهُمْ الْجَبَلُ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى أَمَرَ⁷ مُوسَى أَنْ
 يَقُولَ لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنْ يَرْجِعُوا إِلَى أَهْلِهِمْ وَأَمَرَ⁸ مُوسَى أَنْ يَنْقَرِبَ
 إِلَيْهِ وَأَقَامَ مُوسَى فِي الْجَبَلِ أَرْبَعِينَ^ب يَوْمًا⁹ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَلْقَى الْأَلْوَاحَ

^أ Note how Ms. divides the Hebrew word חַי. Ms. חי.

^ب Ms. أربعون.

وكان في اللوح الأول مكتوب¹⁰ أنا الله ربك وفي الثاني لا تعبد
 إلها غيري وفيهم¹¹ مكيوب¹¹ باثي العشر كلمات وفي التوراة مكتوب
 أن الألواح¹² صنعة الله والكتاب كتابة الله فلما نزل موسى
 والألواح¹³ علي يده فوجد بني إسرائيل قد عبدوا عجلاً من
 ذهب فآلقي الألواح (Ms., p. 14) وأنشقت الأرض وابتلعتهم
 وقتل موسى كل من عبد العجل من بني إسرائيل فصل ومما
 يدل علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم¹⁴ أن يعقوب عليه السلام
 لما خرج هارباً من أخيه العيص¹⁵ رأي¹⁶ في منامه سلماً قد نصب
 من الأرض الي السماء وله خمس درجات¹⁷ ورأي في منامه أمة
 عظيمة صاعدة في تلك الدرج والملائكة يعضدونهم وأبواب
 السماء مفتوحة فتجلى له ربه قايلًا يا يعقوب¹⁸ لا تخف أنا
 معك أسمع وأري فمن¹⁹ يا يعقوب فقال يا رب²⁰ من أولئك²¹
 الصاعدون في تلك الدرج فقال الله له هم ذرية إسماعيل²² فقال
 يا رب بماذا وصلوا إليك فقال الله له يخمس صلوات
 أفرضت²³ عليهم في اليوم والليل فقبلوهن وعلوا بهن
 فلما استيقظ²⁴ يعقوب من منامه فرص علي ذريته الخمس

* Ms. sic.

b Ms. تمنى.

c Ms. من occurs twice.

d Ms. اوليك.

صَلَوَاتٍ وَلَمْ يَكُنِ اللَّهُ سَبْكَانَهُ¹² وَتَعَالَى فَرَضَ عَلِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ
 صَلَاةً فِي التَّوْرَةِ إِلَّا قَرَابِينَ يُقَرَّبُونَهَا¹³ وَهَذِهِ الْقِصَّةُ فِي السَّفَرِ الْأَوَّلِ
 مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ بَعْدَ قِصَّةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ. وَإِسْحَقَ (Ms., p. 15)
 وَمَا زَالَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ وَعُلَمَاءُهُمْ يُصَلُّونَ الصَّلَوَاتِ الْخَمْسَ
 إِتْبَاعًا² لِسُنَّةِ جَدِّهِمْ يَعْقُوبَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَلَمْ تَزَلْ أَنْبِيَاءُ بَنِي
 إِسْرَائِيلَ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ³ وَالسَّلَامُ يُبَشِّرُونَ بِظُهُورِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى
 اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَيُقْسِمُونَ بِحَيَاتِهِ⁴ وَيَتَمَنُّونَ⁵ أَنْ يَكُونُوا فِي زَمَانِهِ
 وَلَمَّا تَكشَّفَ لَهُمُ الْمَغِيبَاتُ يَرَوْنَ⁶ أُمَّتَهُ⁷ مُصْطَفِينَ فِي الصَّلَاةِ
 كَصُفْرِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَقَدْ ضَرَبَ سُمَيْلُ النَّبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ⁸ لِهَذَا
 مَثَلًا قَائِلًا وَفَارًا وَاذْبِ تَرَعَا⁹ وَنَامَارَ عَمَّ كَذِي يِرْبَاصَ تَفْسِيرِ
 ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْأَسَدَ وَالذِّئْبَ¹⁰ يَجْتَمِعَانِ عَلِي⁸ مَعْلَفٍ وَاحِدٍ وَالنِّمْرَ
 وَالجَدِّي يَجْتَمِعَانِ فِي مَكَانٍ وَاحِدٍ وَمَعْنَى ذَلِكَ⁹ أَنَّ الْمَلِكَ
 وَالْفَقِيرَ يَسْتَوِيَانِ فِي صُفْرِ الصَّلَوَاتِ وَإِنَّ عُلَمَاءَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ
¹⁰ وَأَنْبِيَاءَهُمْ رَتَّبُوا لَهُمْ فِي صَلَوَاتِهِمْ¹ يَتَوَسَّلُونَ فِيهِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى

² Ms. اتباع.³ Ms. يتمنوا.⁴ Ms. يرو.⁵ Ms. sic (originally ترعانا?).⁶ Ms. والذئب, as usual.⁷ Ms. has فَصَلٌ after صَلَوَاتِهِمْ.

بِمَحْمَدٍ¹¹ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَيَتَمَنُّونَ^a أَنْ يَكُونُوا فِي زَمَانِهِ
وَيَرَوْا أَيَّامَهُ فَصَلِّ¹² وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَيَّ نَبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
مَا جَاءَ فِي صُحُفِ حَزَقِيلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ¹³ اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ لِسَانَهُ
بِاللِّسَانِ الْعِبْرَانِيِّ هُنَّ^b عِبْدِي^c اِنَّ مَحَكَّتْ^d (Ms., p. 16)

بِحِكْرِي رَاضٍ^e ثَا نَفْسِي عَلَو نَتْتِي^e رُوحِي بُو مَشْبَاطُ^f لَكِيْمِ يُوْصِي
تَفْسِيْرَ ذَلِكَ اِنَّ عَبْدِي الْمُجْتَبِيَّ^g عِنْدِي اِبْنُ^h حَبِيْبِي اِخْتَرْتُهُ
وَأَرْسَلْتُهُ^g اِلَى الْاُمَمِ بِاَحْكَامٍ صَادِقَةٍ وَاَمَّا قَوْلُهُ عَبْدِي فَقَدْ خُوْطِبَ
مَحْمَدٌ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِالْعُبُوْدِيَّةِ وَاَمَّا قَوْلُهُ اِبْنِ حَبِيْبِي
فَاِنَّ اللَّهَ^g سُبْحَانَهُ سَمِّيَ اِبْرَهِيْمَ حَبِيْبًا فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَاِسْمَعِيْلَ سَمَاءَ
اللَّهِ حَبِيْبًا وَاِنَّ^g سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى خَاطَبَ اِبْرَهِيْمَ قَائِلًا

بِاللِّسَانِⁱ الْعِبْرَانِيِّ قَاح⁷ اِنَّ بَنِيَّ اِنَّ يَكِيْدُ خَا اِشَارَ اَهَابَ
تَفْسِيْرَ ذَلِكَ^g خَدُّ اِبْنِكَ وَحِيْدَكَ الَّذِي اَحْبَبْتُهُ وَقَرَّبْتُهُ^k اِلَى قُرْبَانَا
وَهَذِهِ الْاَيَّةُ⁹ تَدُلُّ عَلَيَّ اَنَّ الذَّبِيْحَ هُوَ اِسْمَعِيْلُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنْ
نَصِّ التَّوْرَةِ لِاَنَّ مَا كَانَ¹⁰ لِاِبْرَهِيْمَ وَحِيْدًا اِلَّا اِسْمَاعِيْلَ فَاِنَّ بَعْدَ

^a Ms. يتمنوا.

^b Ms. هن.

^c Ms. عيدي.

^d For Hebrew אָחַבְתִּי (originally اُتْحَبَ ?).

^e Ms. sic.

^f Ms. مشاط.

^g Ms. المجني.

^h Ms. بن.

ⁱ Ms. بلسان.

^j Ms. اثبن خا.

^k Ms. وقربو.

هذه القصة بَشْرُوهُ¹¹ الملائكة بِاسْحَقَ عليه السلام وما كان
 إِبْرَهِيمُ عليه السلام يُحِبُّ إِلَّا إِسْمَاعِيلَ¹² فصل ومّا يدلّ علي
 نبوّته صلي الله عليه وسلم لما¹³ بُعِثَ الْمَسِيحُ عَيْسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ
 عليه السلام وكان مَبْعُوثُهُ في البيت¹⁴ الثاني فَإِنَّ الْبَيْتَ الْأَوَّلَ هُوَ
 الْبَيْتَ الْمُقَدَّسَ الَّذِي بَنَاهُ سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ دَاوُدَ عَلَيْهِمَا الصَّلَاةُ
 وَالسَّلَامُ أَخْرَبَهُ بُخْتَنْصَرُ وَانْقَطَعَتِ النَّبُوَّةُ (Ms., p. 17) عند
 خَرَابِ الْبَيْتِ الْأَوَّلِ وَبَقِيَ خَرَابًا¹⁵ سَبْعِينَ سَنَةً وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ عَمَّرَهُ
 مَلِكٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ كُورَشُ بَعْدَ عِمَارَتِهِ أَرْبَعَ مِائَةِ سَنَةٍ وَثَمَانِينَ¹⁶
³ سَنَةً عَامِرًا وَفِيهِ ظَهَرَ الْمَسِيحُ عَيْسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ عَلَيْهِ أَفْضَلُ
 الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ⁴ وَكَانَ فِي زَمَانِ الْحُكَمَاءِ وَالْفَلَاسِيفَةِ فَأَبْرَأَ الْأَكْمَةَ
 وَالْأَبْرَصَ وَأَحْيَى⁵ الْمَوْتَى بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَجَعَلَ مِنَ الطِّينِ كَهَيْئَةِ
 الطَّيْرِ فَعَقَدُوا لَهُ مَجْلِسًا⁶ وَاجْتَمَعَتْ إِلَيْهِ عُلَمَاءُ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ
 فَهَضَّ إِلَيْهِ عَالِمٌ مِنْهُمْ يُقَالُ لَهُ سَمْعُونُ⁷ بَلْقَيْشُ وَقَالَ لَا نُؤْمِنُ
 بِكَ وَلَا نُسَلِّمُ إِلَيْكَ فِيمَا أَدَّعَيْتَهُ وَلَا فِيمَا⁸ أَتَيْتَ بِهِ لِأَنَّ مُوسَى
 عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَخْبَرَنَا فِي شَرِيعَتِهِ عَنِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ⁹ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ
 الْمَبْعُوثَ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ هُوَ مِنْ نَسْلِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَأَنْتَ مِنْ بَنِي

* خراب. Ms.

^b Ms. وثمانون.

¹⁰إسرائيل وقوله تعالى في التوراة ولو قام نابي عد ¹¹بإسرائيل
 كمشا تفسير ذلك لا يقوم في بني إسرائيل ¹²مثل موسى وأفتوا^a
 بقتل عيسى عليه السلام وقتلوه بزعمهم وبزعم ¹³النصارى
 وكفروا به وكفر النصارى بالمسيح هو أشد من كفر اليهود
¹⁴لأنهم يعتقدون أن الكف الذي سمر بالمسار به خلقت
 السموات ¹⁵والأرض ولا يكون أشد [من] هذا من كفر وصرورة في
 كنائسهم مصلوبًا (Ms., p. 18) مسمرًا وصبيان اليهود يرجموا
 بالحجارة فصل ²اعلم أن الملة النصرانية لم تكن أتبعت شيئًا
 من سنن المسيح عليه ³السلام ولا من شريعته لكن أتبعوا
 سنن الملوك الذين كفروا ⁴من بني إسرائيل الذين نقضوا
 عهد الله وصوروا لهم الصور ⁵والتماثيل في البيع الذي كان
 بسببها خراب ملك بني إسرائيل ⁶فإن بسبب صورة واحدة
 صورت في بيت سليمان بن داود ولم يشعر بها نزع الله الملك
 منه وبسبب صليب واحد انكسر ⁸جيش يوشع خليفة موسى
 ثلاث مرار ولم يكن المسيح عليه السلام ⁹يشرع لهم عمل
 صور ولا الصلبان ونقلوا عن المسيح في أنجيلهم ¹⁰المنسوبة

^a Ms. وافنو .

الي مَتَّى وَلُوقَا وَمَرْقُسَ وَيُوحَنَّا [أَنَّهُ] أَحَدَ لَهُمِ الْمَيْتَةَ¹¹ وَالِدَمَ
وَلَحْمَ الْخِنْزِيرِ وَحَاشَا الْمَسِيحِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ فَإِنَّهُ قَالَ مَا¹² جِئْتُ
مُبْطِلًا لِشَرِيعَةِ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بَلْ جِئْتُ¹³ أَكْمِلَهَا وَشَرِيعَةُ
مُوسَى حَرَمَتِ الْمَيْتَةَ وَالِدَمَ وَلَحْمَ الْخِنْزِيرِ وَنَقَلُوا¹⁴ مِنَ الْمَسِيحِ
أَيْضًا فِي أَنْجِيلِهِمْ أَنَّهُ حَرَّمَ عَلَيْهِمُ الْخِتَانَ وَالْخِتَانُ هُوَ¹⁵ سُنَّةُ
الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَهُوَ سُنَّةُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَهُوَ مَفْرُوضٌ عَلَي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ
(*Ms., p. 19*) فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَذَلِكَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَي تَغْيِيرِهِمُ الْأَنْجِيلَ الَّذِي
جَاءَ بِهِ² عِيسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَصَلِّ اعْلَمْ وَفَقَدَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَنِّي
³ وَقَفْتُ عَلَي الْأَنْجِيلِ الْأَرْبَعَةِ وَكَرَّرْتُهُمْ فَلَمْ أَجِدْ فِيهِمْ ذِكْرَ مُحَمَّدٍ
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَصْلًا كَمَا هُوَ مَذْكَورٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَصُحُفِ
الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَذَلِكَ⁵ دَلِيلٌ عَلَي تَغْيِيرِهِمُ الْأَنْجِيلَ الَّذِي جَاءَ بِهِ
عِيسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَصَلِّ⁶ وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَقَامَ فِي
النِّيبَةِ أَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً وَفِي⁷ سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ لُخْرُوجِهِمْ مِنْ مِصْرَ
كَلَّمَ اللَّهُ مُوسَى تَكْلِيمًا وَأَمَرَهُ⁸ أَنْ يَجْمَعَ مِنْ شِيُوخِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ
سَبْعِينَ رَجُلًا وَيَطْلُعَ بِهِمُ إِلَي الْجَبَلِ⁹ وَفَعَلَ مُوسَى ذَلِكَ وَجَمَعَ
مُوسَى نَقَبَاءَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَرُؤُسَ أَسْبَاطِهِمْ¹⁰ وَطَلَعَ بِهِمُ إِلَي جَبَلِ
آخِرٍ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَبَّحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى تَجَلَّى لِمُوسَى تَجَلِّيًا أَعْظَمَ

¹¹ مِنَ الْأَوَّلِ وَكَانَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ زَلْزَلٌ وَبُرُوفٌ وَرُعُودٌ وَخُسْفٌ ¹² وَخَوْفٌ عَظِيمٌ وَارْتَجَّتْ ¹³ الْأُمَمُ فِي سَائِرِ الْأَقَابِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ ¹⁴ سَبَّحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى كَلِمَ مُوسَى تَكْلِيمًا قَائِلًا قُلْ لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ ارْزُقُوا ¹⁵ هَاهُنَا أَشَارٌ^b يَعْسَا بَاسِلٌ وَمَسِي خَا^c تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ ¹⁶ مَلْعُونٌ مَنْ يَصْنَعُ صَلِيبًا أَوْ صُورَةً مَلْعُونٌ مَنْ يَعْبُدُهُمْ مَلْعُونٌ (Ms., p. 20) مَنْ خَلَا ذَلِكَ بَيْنَهُمْ وَاللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى يُخَاطِبُ مُوسَى بِذَلِكَ ² وَجَمِيعُ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يُؤْمِنُونَ عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ وَأَقَامَ مُوسَى فِي الْجَبَلِ ³ أَرْبَعِينَ يَوْمًا وَنَزَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْأَلْوَاحُ الَّتِي أَلْفَاها وَفِيهِمْ مَكْتُوبٌ ⁴ الْعَشْرَ كَلِمَاتٍ فَلَمَّا نَزَلَ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَالْأَلْوَاحُ عَلَيَّ يَدِهِ لَمْ ⁵ يَطُقْ أَحَدًا^d أَنْ يَنْظُرَ إِلَيْهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَلْبَسَ بُرْفَعًا وَيَضَعُ ⁶ الْأَلْوَاحَ فِي تَابُوتِ السَّكِينَةِ وَوَضَعَ مَعَهُمْ نُسْخَةً مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ بِخَطِّ ⁷ يَدِيهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَطْلُعَ إِلَى الْجَبَلِ لِرَفَائِهِ فَصَلَ ⁸ وَمَا يَدُلُّ عَلَيَّ نُبُوتَهُ صَلي اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَمَّا طَلَعَ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ ⁹ لِلرَّفَاةِ طَلَبَ مِنَ اللَّهِ سَبَّحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى أَنْ يُرِيَهُ الْأُمَّةَ الَّتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ ¹⁰ فَلَمَّا رَأَى^e مُحْتَدًا صَلي

^a Ms. وارتجت.^b Ms. هاهنا اشا.^c Note the way this word (= מִסְכָּה) is written.^d Ms. أحدًا.^e Ms. رأ.

الله عليه وسلم وأتمته نُزِلَتْ هذه الآية¹¹ في التوراة اذناي مسينا
 با وزاراح مساعير هفيع¹² ميهار باران وات¹³ ماربيت قدش^b
 تفسير ذلك جاء¹³ الله من سينا وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن^c
 من جبال فاران وظهر¹⁴ من ربوات قدسه عن يمينه نور وعن
 شماله نار اليه تجتمع¹⁵ الأمم وعليه تجتمع الشعوب فإن علماء
 بني إسرائيل الشارحين للتوراة (Ms., p. 21) شرحوا ذلك وفسروه
 أن التارهي سيف محمّد القاهر والنور³ هي شريعته الهادية
 صلي الله عليه وسلم فصل قوله³ تعالي في كتابه العزيز وإذ قال
 موسى لقومه يا قوم أدكروا⁴ نعمة الله عليكم إذ جعل فيكم
 أنبياء وجعلكم ملوكاً وآناكم ما لم يوت أحدًا من العالمين يا
 قوم ادخلوا الأرض المقدسة⁵ التي كتب الله لكم ولا ترتدوا علي
 أدباركم فتنقلبوا خاسرين⁷ وقد دخلوا بنو¹ إسرائيل الي الشام
 وكانت ملوكهم الأنبياء⁸ يوشع وداود وسليمن وابن سليمان في
 إمامه نفرّ ملك⁹ بني إسرائيل وكفروا وقتلوا الأنبياء ونقضوا
 عهدود الله وكان¹⁰ سبب كفرهم ملك⁶ من ملوكهم يقال له

^a For Hebrew מִיָּהָר . ^b Ms. ماربيت قدس. ^c Ms. استعلن.

^d Ms. بني.

^e Ms. ملكا.

ياربعام وكان جبّاراً¹¹ وكان فيلُسُوفًا فحضَرَ الخِضْرُ عليه السلام ذاتَ يومَ مَجْلِسَهُ¹² [و]سمعَهُ يقولُ أنّ موسى قال في شريعته إنَّ أَنتُمْ نَقَضْتُمْ عُهُودَ اللَّهِ¹³ فالسَّمَاءُ تَمْسُكُ المِطْرَ فلم تَمَطُرْ والأَرْضُ تَمْسُكُ النِّبَاتَ ولم تَنْبُتْ¹⁴ فنهض الخضر عليه السلام قائمًا قائلًا حي اذْنائي إم¹⁵ ياش¹⁶ طال وَمَاطَارِ كِي أم لفي دَبَارِي تفسير ذلك وعِزَّةَ اللَّهِ (Ms., p. 22) لم يَنْزِلْ طَلٌّ وَلَا مَطَرٌ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَأَرَادَ المَلِكُ قَتَلَ الخِضْرَ² فَأَخْفَاهُ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَأَمْتَنَعَ الطَّلَّ والمِطْرَ ثَلَاثَ سِنِينَ وَهَلَكَ النَّاسُ³ مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَلِكَ وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ حَضَرَ الخِضْرُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي مَجْلِسِ المَلِكِ⁴ وَطَلَبَ مِنْهُ أَلْكَهِنَةَ والعُلَمَاءَ فَاجْتَمَعَ إِلَيْهِ أَرْبَعِيائَةٌ رَجُلٍ وَطَلَبَ مِنْ⁵ المَلِكِ عِجْلَيْنِ مِنْ بَقَرٍ وَقَالَ الخِضْرُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لِلْكَهِنَةِ آخْتَارُوا لَكُمْ عِجْلًا وَأَدْبَحُوهُ وَاجْعَلُوا عَلَيْهِ حَطْبًا وَأَدْعُوا آلِهَتَكُمْ وَأَنَا⁶ أَفْعَلُ بِالْعِجْلِ الآخِرِ كَذَلِكَ وَأَدْعُوا رَبِّي وَتَدْعُوا آلِهَتَكُمْ وَأَيُّ⁷ إِلَهٍ نَزَلَتْ نَارُهُ وَأَكَلَتِ العِجْلَ فَهُوَ إِلَهٌ نَعْبُدُ فَذَبَحُوا الكَهِنَةَ⁸ عِجْلَهُمْ وَجَعَلُوا عَلَيْهِ حَطْبًا فَاسْتَعَانُوا بِآلِهَتِهِمْ فَلَمْ يَعِينُوهُمْ⁹ فَجَعَلَ الخِضْرُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَهْزُونَ¹⁰ بِهِمْ وَيَقُولُ نَبِّهُوا آلِهَتَكُمْ لَا

• Ms. (originally أم).

• Ms. وادعوا.

• Ms. يهزوا.

11 يَكُونُوا نِيَامًا او مُشْتَغَلِينَ عَنْكُمْ بِسِيَاخَتِهِمْ^a نَادَوْهُمْ بِصَوْتٍ
 12 تَرِيٍّ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَسْمَعُونَكُمْ وَإِنَّ الْخَضِرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَخَذَ الْعَجَل
 13 الَّذِي لَهُ فَذَبَحَهُ وَجَعَلَهُ فِي حُفْرَةٍ وَجَعَلَ مَعَهُ مَاءً عَوْضًا عَنِ
 الْحَطَبِ¹⁴ وَبَسَطَ يَدَهُ قَابِلًا عِنَانِي اذْنَانِي عِنَانِي هَيَوْمَ يَوَازِعُ
 15 كِي أَنَا هُوَ هَا الْإِهِيمُ تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ أَغْثِنِي يَا اللَّهُ الْيَوْمَ
 (Ms., p. 23) يُعَلِّمُ أَنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْإِلَهُ وَمَا تَمَّ إِلَهُ غَيْرِكَ فَلَمْ يُتِمَّ
 الْكَلَامَ إِلَّا وَنَزَلَتْ^b نَارٌ [وَأَكَلْتُ الْعَجَلَ وَشَرِبْتُ الْمَاءَ وَخَرُّوا
 بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ سَاجِدِينَ^c قَائِلِينَ اللَّهُ إِلَهُنَا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ فَذَبَحَ
 الْخَضِرُ الْكَهَنَةَ بِيَدِهِ^d عَلِيَّ الْخَفِيرِ وَنَزَلَ الْمَطَرُ وَلَمْ يَرْجِعِ الْمَلِكُ
 عَنْ كُفْرِهِ وَإِرَادَ قَتْلَ^e الْخَضِرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَأَخْفَاهُ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ
 فَصَلَّ وَمَا يَدُلُّ^e عَلِيَّ نَبَوْتَهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّ بُخْتَنَصَرَ
 لَمَّا خَرِبَ بَيْتَ الْمَقْدِسِ رَجَعَ^g إِلَيْ مُلْكِهِ [وَرَأَى فِي مَنَامِهِ صَنَمًا
 رِجْلَاهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَرَأْسُهُ فِي السَّمَاءِ وَرَأْسُهُ^h مِنْ ذَهَبٍ وَصَدْرُهُ وَذِرَاعَاهُ^e
 مِنْ فِضَّةٍ وَبَطْنُهُ مِنْ نُحَاسٍⁱ وَفَخَذَاهُ^d مِنْ حَدِيدٍ وَرِجْلَاهُ مِنْ
 فَخَّارٍ وَرَأَى السَّمَاءَ قَدْ انشَقَّتْ¹⁰ وَإِذَا بِمَلِكٍ بِيَدِهِ سَيْفٌ فَقَطَعَ
 الرَّأْسَ الذَّهَبَ وَوَقَعَ الصَّنَمُ وَتَكَسَّرَ¹¹ وَعَلَتْ رِجْلَاهُ^e عَلِيَّ سَائِرِ

^a Ms. بسياختهم. ^b Ms. نزلت. ^c Ms. وذراعاه.

^d Ms. وفخذه.

^e Ms. رجليه.

بدنِهِ فلَمَّا استيقظ بُخْتَنَصْرُ من منامه دعا¹² دانيالَ عليه السلام وكان وزيراً له فقَصَّ عليه المنامَ فقال دانيال¹³ عليه السلام إِنَّ الرَّأْسَ الذَّهَبَ هو أَنْتَ يَا مَلِكُ وَالْفِصَّةُ هم أَوْلَادُكَ¹⁴ [الذين يملكون مِن بعدك والنُّكَّاسُ هم ملوكُ]¹⁴ يملكون مِن بعدِ¹⁵ أَوْلَادِكَ يُسَمُّونَ كِسْرِيَّ وَقِيَصَرَ وَنَكَوَهُم من ملوكِ الرومِ وَالْفَخَّارُ هم ملوكُ يظهرُونَ في آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ وهم يكونُونَ¹⁶ (Ms., p. 24) أَفْخَرَ الْأُمَّمِ وَتَعَلُّوا¹⁷ كَلِمَتَهُم علي سائرِ الْأُمَّمِ كما عَلَا الفخَّارُ علي سائرِ¹⁸ الصنمِ وَالْمَلِكُ الَّذِي نَزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ وَقَطَعَ الرَّأْسَ الذَّهَبَ هو¹⁹ النَّبِيُّ الْمَبْعُوثُ الي سائرِ الْأُمَّمِ وهو الَّذِي يُطَهِّرُ الْأَرْضَ من عِبَادَةِ²⁰ الْأَصْنَامِ وَتَصْدِيقُ ذَلِكَ أَنْ يَعْدَمَ الْمَلِكُ فلم يَتَمَّ دانيالُ كَلَامَهُ إِلَّا²¹ وَالْأَرْضُ قَدْ انشَقَّتْ وَابْتَلَعَتْ بِخْتَنَصْرَ فصل²² وَمَا يَدُلُّ علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم وَصِدْقِ شَرِيعَتِهِ ما جَاءَ في صُحُفِ²³ إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وهو قولُهُ تَعَالَى يَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ خُذْ أَرْبَعَةً مِنَ الطَّيْرِ²⁴ وَأَرْبَعَةً مِنَ الْبَقَرِ وَأَرْبَعَةً²⁵ مِنَ الْوَحْشِ وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ يَفْسِمَهُمْ²⁶ كَلَّ وَاحِدٍ نِصْفَيْنِ وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ لَا يَفْسِمَ

¹⁴ Ms. اولادك.

¹⁵ The copyist at first wrote بعدك, and then crossed out the ك. His eye evidently passed over the words supplied in brackets.

¹⁶ Ms. يكونوا.

¹⁷ Ms. وتعلوا.

¹⁸ Ms. واربعه.

العصفورَ وأمره أن¹⁰ يَدْعُوهُمْ ففعل إبراهيمُ ذلك فأتوه سَعِيًّا أَحْيَاءَ
 كما كانوا وإن¹¹ الله عزَّ وجلَّ قال لإبراهيمَ عليه السلام هكذا
 أُحْيِي المَوْتِي وَأَبْعَثُ¹² مَنْ فِي القُبُورِ وقد قال علماءُ بني إسرائيل
 في شَرْحِ هذا المَقَامِ¹³ أَنَّ أَجْنَاسَ الحَيَّوانِ هم الأُمَّمُ الذين
 تَقَدَّموا قَبْلَ ظهورِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلي¹⁴ الله عليه وسلم وقد بانُوا
 وانقسم مُلْكُهُم وَأَنَّ العصفورَ المَذْكُورَ¹⁵ هو إِشارةٌ عن اسمعيل
 وَدُرَيْتِهِ الذين لا يَبِيدُونَ ولا يَنْقَسِمُونَ (Ms., p. 25) الي يوم
 القِيامَةِ فصل ومما يدلُّ علي نبوتِهِ صلي³ الله عليه وسلم
 وَصَدَقَ شَرِيعَتِهِ صلي الله عليه وسلم ما جاء في صُكْفِ حَرْقِيلِ
 عليه السلام أَنَّهُ لَمَّا خَرَجَ فِي سِياحَتِهِ فَوَجَدَ مَقْبَرَةً عَظِيمَةً⁶
⁴ وَفِيهَا عِظَامٌ بِالْيَةِ نَخْرَةٌ فَوَقَفَ مُتَعَجِّبًا مُتَعَكِّرًا فِي سِرِّهِ كَيْفَ
⁵ تَعُودُ هَذِهِ العِظَامُ الي ما كانت عليه فَعِنْدَ ذلك خَاطَبَهُ اللهُ
 تَعَالَى⁶ قَائِلًا يَا ابْنَ آدَمَ قُلْ يَا عِظَامُ يَا بِالْيَةَ يَا نَخْرَةَ اسْمِعِي
 كَلَامَ اللهِ فَإِنَّهُ⁷ يَقُولُ لِكِ^b اجْتَبِعِي بَعْضُكِ الي بَعْضٍ فَلَمَّا فَرَّغَ
 مِنْ كَلَامِهِ وَإِذَا المَقْبَرَةُ⁸ قَدْ اهْتَرَّتْ وَاجْتَمَعَتِ العِظَامُ وَامْتَدَّتْ
 الأَعْصَبَاتُ وَالتَفَّتْ⁹ العُرُوقُ وَالشَّرَابُونَ^c وَاكْتَنَسَتِ الجِلْدُودُ وَإِنَّ

* Ms. عَظِيمَةً.

b Ms. لِكِي.

c Ms. والشرايين.

اللَّهِ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى¹⁰ قَالَ لَهُ قُلْ يَا رُوحَ ادْخُلِي فِيهِمْ فَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ
السلام ذلك فنهضوا من¹¹ وَقَتَهُمْ قَائِمِينَ يَنْفُضُونَ التُّرَابَ مِنْ
عَلِي وَجُوهِهِمْ وَرُؤُسِهِمْ¹² وَهُمْ يَشْهَدُونَ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا
شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَنَّ الْمَوْتَ¹³ حَقٌّ وَالْحَيَاةَ بَاطِلٌ ثُمَّ قَالُوا لِنَبِيِّهِمْ نَحْنُ
فِي الدُّنْيَا أُمَّ الْقِيَامَةِ قَامَتْ¹⁴ فَقَالَ لَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بَلْ أَنْتُمْ فِي
الدُّنْيَا فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ طَلَبَ الْمَوْتَ فَعَادَ مَيِّتًا¹⁵ وَمِنْهُمْ [مَنْ] دَخَلَ
المدينة وهذه السيرة كانت في زمان ياربعم^a الملك (Ms., p. 26)
الذي كَفَرَ وَرَأَى هَذِهِ الْآيَةَ الْعَظِيمَةَ وَلَمْ يَرْجِعْ عَنْ كُفْرِهِ² وَكَانَ^b
فَيَلْسُونًا فَصَلَّ وَمَا يَدُلُّ عَلِي نَبُوْتَهُ صلي³ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّ
اسْمَهُ فِي التَّوْرَةِ مَادَّ مَادَّ وَفِي صُحُفِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ يَوْشِي يَاهُو وَعُلَمَاءُ
بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ الَّذِينَ فَسَّرُوا التَّوْرَةَ⁵ فَسَّرُوا ذَلِكَ فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَالَ
جِدًّا جِدًّا وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَالَ أَحْمَدَ أَحْمَدَ⁶ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَالَ عَظِيمًا
عَظِيمًا وَالَّذِي قَالَ جِدًّا جِدًّا هُوَ لَفْظٌ مُشْتَرِكٌ⁷ أَعْنِي عَظِيمًا
عَظِيمًا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ ظَهَرَ مِنْ نَسْلِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ أَعْظَمَ مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ صلي⁸
اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَاسْمُهُ فِي صُحُفِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ يَوْشِي يَاهُو وَهَذَا
الاسْمُ مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَلَمْ يُدْكَرْ لِأَحَدٍ إِلَّا لِمُحَمَّدٍ صلي⁹

^a Ms. ياربعمان.^b Ms. وكان twice.

الله عليه وسلم ¹⁰ فصل أعلم أن مدة ملك بني إسرائيل كانت ثمان ¹¹ مائة سنة واثنتين وخمسين ^a سنة منها سبع مائة سنة كانوا ¹² تابعين شريعة موسى عليه السلام وكُل من قصدهم من الملوك يهلك ¹³ كما هلك سنحاريب وغيره من الملوك وبعد سبع مائة سنة ¹⁴ انقسم ملكهم وتولي الملك ياربعام بمدينة دمشق وعبد الصور ¹⁵ والتماثيل وبطل الكحج من البيت المقدس وأمر بقتل من يحكم اليه ووقع (Ms., p. 27) الكرب بينه وبين ابن سليمان بن داود عليهما الصلاة والسلام وكان ² تبعوا هذا الملك تسعة أسباط ونصف سبط من بني إسرائيل وانتصر ³ علي [ابن] سليمان وقتل بينهم في أول وقعة ثمان مائة ألف وكسر وما زال الكرب بينهم والفتن والسيف يعمل مائة سنة واثنتين وخمسين ^b سنة وهذا الملك قتل الأنبياء وأحرق شريعة موسى عليه الصلاة والسلام ⁶ وبعد ذلك بعث سبحانه وتعالى بختنصر وأحرق البيت المقدس ⁷ وذبح علي دم زكرياء أربعة وثمانين ألف شريف وشتتهم في ⁸ الأرض وبقي البيت المقدس خراباً ^c سبعين سنة وفيه ظهرت ⁹ السمرة وابتدعوا شريعة من عندهم

^a Ms. وخمسون.

^b Ms. وخمسون.

^c Ms. خراب.

ونسبوا الي موسى عليه السلام¹⁰ وفي ذلك الزمان ظهرت
 القَرَاوُونَ¹¹ الذين يعتقدون أَنَّ العَزِيرَ¹¹ ابنُ اللّٰهِ وهم الذين
 سكنوا بأرض الحِجَاز وبعد سبعين سنةً ظهر¹² ملكٌ يُقال لهُ
 كُورَش وَعَمَّرَ البَيْتَ المُقَدَّسَ واجتمعتُ اليه اليهودُ وبقي¹³ البيتُ
 المُقَدَّسَ عامراً أربع مائة سنةٍ وثمانين¹⁴ سنةً وفيه ظهر المسيحُ
 عيسى بنُ مريمَ عليه السلام وكانت سببُ خرابِ البيتِ الأوَّلِ
 الذي¹⁵ بناه سليمانُ بن داودَ عليهما السلام نَقَضَهُم عَهودَ
 اللّٰهِ وَعَمَلَهُمْ¹⁶ (Ms., p. 28) الصُّورَ¹⁷ والتماثيلَ وَقَتَلَهُمُ الأنبياءُ
 وسببُ خرابِ البيتِ الثاني² الذي عَمَّرَهُ كُورَشُ اخْتِلافُ علمائِهِم
 في ذَاتِ الباريِّ سبحانَهُ³ وتعالى³ وفي صِفَاتِهِ وفي كَلِمَةِ وَكفُرُهُم
 بالمسيحِ عيسى بن مريمَ عليه⁴ الصلاة والسلام فصل أُخْتَلِفَ
 في كَلَامِ الباريِّ⁵ سبحانَهُ وتعالى⁵ فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَالَ بِلَا حَرْفٍ وَلَا
 صَوْتٍ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَالَ بِحَرْفٍ وَصَوْتٍ وَسببُ ذَلِكَ إِتْبَاعُ الفلاسِفةِ
 واعتقادُ مَذْهَبِهِمْ⁷ فَإِنَّهُمْ يعتقدون قَدَمَ العالَمِ وهذه الغلطةُ
 العظيمةُ نَزَلَتْ بِهِمْ⁸ أَسْفَلَ السَّافِلِينَ فَإِنَّهُمْ جَهَلُوا المَوْجُودَ

* Ms. القَرَايِين.

b Ms. وثمانون.

c Ms. الذي repeated.

d Ms. عَمَلِهِم.

e Ms. الصُّورَ.

f Ms. بِحَرْفٍ.

وَالْإِيجَادَ وَالْمُوجِدَ⁹ وَجَهَلُوا حَقِيقَةَ النُّبُوَّةِ وَمَرَاتِبَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَنَفَرُوا
 الصَّانِعَ وَعَجَزُوا¹⁰ الْقُدْرَةَ وَوَقَفَتْ عُقُولُهُمْ عِنْدَ الْفَلَكِ وَأَفْلَاطُونُ
 وَارِصْطُوا¹¹ عَظْمَاءُهُمْ عَجَزُوا عَنْ مَعْرِفَةِ حَقِيقَةِ الْجِسْمِ فَكَيْفَ
 بِسَبِيلِهِمْ إِلَى مَعْرِفَةِ¹² كَلَامِ الْبَارِيِّ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى وَالْأَنْبِيَاءُ
 عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ¹³ خَرَقُوا الْحُجُبَ وَاتَّصَلُوا بِعَالَمِ الْمَلَكُوتِ
 وَأَخْبَرُوا مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى¹⁴ أَنَّهُ أَبَدَعَ الْعَالَمَ مِنَ الْعَدَمِ بِقُدْرَةٍ لَا
 يَشُوبُهَا عَجْزٌ وَقُوَّةٌ لَا يَلْحَقُهَا¹⁵ ضَعْفٌ^b وَهَذَا فَاتِحَةُ التَّوْرَةِ
 قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى بِرَاشِيثٍ (Ms., p. 29) بَارَا تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ أَبَدَعَ
 الْعَالَمَ مِنَ الْعَدَمِ فَصَلَّ³ أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْفَلَسَفَةَ هِيَ مَذْهَبٌ قَدِيمٌ
 وَافْتَرَفَ أَهْلُهَا فِرْقًا⁶ فَمِنْهُمْ الدَّهْرِيَّةُ⁸ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَعْتَقِدُوا صَانِعًا
 وَمِنْهُمْ الْكَلُولِيَّةُ وَمِنْهُمْ الْإِتِّكَادِيَّةُ⁴ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَعْتَقِدُ قَدَمَ
 الْعَالَمِ وَإِتِّبَابَ الصَّانِعِ وَمِنْهُمْ الصَّابِيَّةُ⁵ الَّذِينَ يَعْتَقِدُونَ الْكَوَاكِبَ
 وَجَمِيعُ الْفَلَسِيفَةِ يَعْتَقِدُونَ⁶ قَدَمَ الْعَالَمِ لَا خَلَا وَلَا مَلَأَ فَجَعَلُوا
 إِلَهَ الْعَالَمِ مِنْ دَاخِلِ الْفَلَكِ⁷ وَهُمْ أَعْدَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَعْدَاءُ الرُّسُلِ وَهُمْ
 الَّذِينَ أُسِّسُوا عِبَادَةَ الْأَصْنَامِ⁸ وَصَوَّرُوا الصُّورَ وَالتَّمَاثِيلَ وَصَنَعُوا
 الْبَرَابِي وَالْأَهْرَامَ وَمَنْ عَظَّمَ مِنْهُمْ⁹ آدَعِي الْإِلَهِيَّةَ كَالنَّمْرُودِ بْنِ

^a Ms. reads اِصْطُوا for Aristotle.

^b Ms. ضَعْفٌ.

^c Ms. فَرَقَ.

كنعان وفِرْعَوْنَ¹⁰ ولَمَّا يَظْهَرُ ذَلِكَ وَيَفْشُو^أ يَغَارُ الْبَارِيُّ سُبْحَانَهُ
 وَتَعَالَى¹¹ لِذَاتِهِ وَيُرْسِلُ الرُّسُلَ بِالآيَاتِ وَالْبَرَاهِمِينَ وَالْمُعْجِزَاتِ
 الْخَارِقَةِ¹² لَطَبَائِعِ الوجودِ وَلَمَّا أَرْسَلَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى مُوسَى
 عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ¹³ قَالَ لَهُ إِنَّ فِرْعَوْنَ لَنْ يُؤْمِنَ بِكَ لِأَنِّي اخْتَرْتُ أَنْ
 أَكْثَرَ آيَاتِي وَمُعْجِزَاتِي¹⁴ بَارِضٍ مِصْرَ وباللسان^ب الْعِبْرَانِيِّ لِمَاعِنِ
 رِبُوْتِ مَوْفِي¹⁵ بَارِضٍ مِصْرَائِمِ فصل في الردِّ علي عقيده
 (Ms., p. 30) الفلاسفة وهي قَدَمُ الْعَالَمِ اعْلَمُ أَنَّ هَذَا الْعَالَمَ
 اعْنِي الْفَلَكَ وَمَا² حَوِيٍّ وَهُوَ كَشَخْصٍ وَاحِدٍ مُحِيطُهُ بَسِيْطٌ
 وَحَشْوَةٌ وَدَاخِلُهُ³ مُتَكْتَبٌ الْأَجْزَاءِ وَمُرَكَّبٌ مِنْ مَادَّةٍ وَصُورَةٍ وَفِيهِ مَنْ
 لَهُ شَعُورٌ⁴ كَالْحَيَوَانَ وَفِيهِ مَنْ لَيْسَ شَعُورٌ كَالْجَمَادَاتِ وَمِنْ
 الْمَكَالِ أَنْ⁵ تَوْحِدُهُ هَذَا لِكثْرَةِ ذَاتِهَا فَلِزَمَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ غَيْرَهُ
 أَوْجَدُهُ وَلَا⁶ يَخْلُو وَجُودُهُ لَهُ عَنْ أَرْبَعَةِ أَقْسَامِ الْقِسْمِ الْأَوَّلِ أَنْ
 يَكُونَ وَجُودُهُ لَهُ عَنْ مَادَّةٍ لَمْ تَزَلْ وَمُورَةٍ لَمْ تَزَلْ وَهَذَا مَكَالٌ
 عَقْلًا وَشَرَعًا وَطَبَعًا أَنْ يَتَعَيَّنَ مَوْجُودٌ مَادَّةً [بلا] صُورَةً أَوْ صُورَةً
 بِلَا مَادَّةٍ وَأَنْ قَالُوا أَنَّ الْهَيْوَلِيَّ⁷ الْأَوَّلِيَّ لَهَا وَجُودٌ فَوْجُودِهَا
 ذَهْنِيٌّ⁸ لَا عِيَانِيٌّ⁹ لِأَنَّ الوجودَ الذهنِيَّ لَا يَكُونُ سَبَبًا لِلْمَوْجُودِ

^أ Ms. يفشوا. ^ب Ms. وبلسان. ^ج Ms. sic. ^د Ms. توجد.

^{هـ} Ms. عيانياً and ذهنيًا. ^و Ms. الهَيُولِيَّ = Gr. ἕλη.

11 العياني نَعَمَ التَّوَجُّودِ العياني هو سببُ الوجودِ الذهني
 12 والقِسْمُ الثاني أن يكون وجوده أعني به الفلك وما حوي¹⁸ عن
 مادة لم تزل وصورة لم تكن وهذا الرأي ذهب إليه بعض
 14 المتكلمين فإنهم قالوا أن الفاعل حي وقادر ومريد وأوجبوا
 15 له باقي الصفات وجعلوه يفعل في المادة ما يشاء ويفعل فيها
 (Ms., p. 31) صورة لم تكن وهذا الرأي باطل من وجهين *
 احدهما يلزم أن يكون³ الفاعل جزو⁸ عليه كالبناء يبني البيت
 من أجزاء متقدمة عن البيت³ كالكلس والحجر والوجه الثاني
 أن يكون المادة قد شاركت⁴ الفاعل في الأزل ولو أراد أن يعدمها
 ما قدر وحاشاه من⁵ ذلك أن يكون له شريك⁶ في ملكه سبحانه
 وتعالى عن ذلك علوا⁶ كبيرا والقسم الثالث أن يكون وجوده
 عن مادة⁷ لم تكن وصورة لم تزل وهذا محال أن يتقوم موجود
 بالمعدوم⁸ فلزم ونتج بما تقتضيه القياس النظري البرهاني أن
 [يكون] وجود⁹ هذا العالم أعني به الفلك وما حوي عن مادة
 لم تكن وصورة¹⁰ لم تكن وهذا هو العدم الذي جاء به جميع
 الأنبياء والرسل صلوات¹¹ الله عليهم أجمعين فصل أعلم وفقك

* Ms. وجوه .

b So the Ms.

c Ms. سريكا .

اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لَطَاعَتِهِ¹² أَنَّ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ
 مَعَ عَظْمِ شَأْنِهِمْ وَمَرَاتِبِهِمْ¹³ مُتَخْتَلِفَةً مِنْهُمْ مَنْ خَاطَبَهُ اللَّهُ فِي
 الْمَنَامِ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ خَاطَبَهُ اللَّهُ وَحَيًّا أَوْ¹⁴ مِنْ وَرَاءِ حِجَابٍ وَمِنْهُمْ
 مَنْ هُوَ فِي حَضْرَةِ الْقَدِيسِ دَائِمًا¹⁵ فَصَلِّ أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ سَلِيمَانَ بْنَ دَاوُدَ
 عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ (Ms., p. 32) ضَرَبَ الْكَلَامَ مَثَلًا فَقَالَ مَثَلُ
 رَجُلٍ نَائِمٍ رَأَى¹ فِي مَنَامِهِ شَخْصًا مِثْلًا لَهُ² مُدَّةً مِنَ الزَّمَانِ وَإِنَّ
 ذَلِكَ الْمَيْتَ كَلَّمَ النَّائِمَ فِي مَنَامِهِ³ وَأَخْبَرَهُ بِبَعْضِ بَاتٍ بِشَفَةِ لِسَانٍ
 وَحَرْفٍ وَصَوْتٍ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ⁴ هُنَاكَ لَا شَفَةَ وَلَا لِسَانَ وَلَا حَرْفًا وَلَا
 صَوْتًا فَلَمَّا اسْتَيْقَظَ النَّائِمُ⁵ مِنْ مَنَامِهِ أَخْبَرَ عَنْ جَمِيعِ مَا قَالَ لَهُ
 الْمَيْتُ بِشَفَةِ لِسَانٍ وَحَرْفٍ وَصَوْتٍ وَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ
 وَسَلَّمَ إِنَّ الرُّؤْيَا الصَّادِقَةَ جُزْءٌ⁶ مِنْ سِتَّةٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ جُزْءًا⁷ مِنْ
 النَّبُوَّةِ وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَرَى⁸ مَنَامًا⁸ وَيَعْتَقِدُ أَنَّهُ فِي الْيَقِظَةِ
 فَالنَّبُوَّةُ أَعْظَمُ مِنَ الْيَقِظَةِ⁹ بِلا قِيَاسٍ⁹ فَصَلِّ أَعْلَمُ وَفَقَدَ اللَّهُ
 تَعَالَى لَطَاعَتَهُ أَنَّنِي كُنْتُ¹⁰ مِنْ عُلَمَاءِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَمَنْ اللَّهُ
 سَبَّحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى عَلَيَّ بِالْإِسْلَامِ وَكَانَ¹¹ سَبَبُهُ أَنْ حَصَلَ لِي ضَعْفٌ
 فَدَخَلَ عَلَيَّ طَبِيبٌ فَجُجِّهَ لِي كَفَنُ الْمَوْتِ¹² فَرَأَيْتُ فِي مَنَامِي

* Ms. زاي.

b Ms. جزوا.

c Ms. يرا.

d Ms. اليقضة.

قَائِلًا يَقُولُ أَتَرَأُ سُورَةَ الْكَمَدِ تُخْلَصُ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ¹⁸ فَلَمَّا
استيقظتُ من منامي طلبتُ من ساعتي عدلاً من¹⁴ عدولِ
المسلمينَ وكان جاري فمسكتُ بيدهِ قَائِلًا أَشْهَدُ¹⁵ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا
اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ وَلَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ (Ms., p. 33)
وَرَسُولُهُ أُرْسِلُهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ
وَأَخَذْتُ² أَكْرَرَ وَأَقُولُ يَا مُتَيْتَ الْقُلُوبِ ثَبِّتْنِي عَلَى الْإِيمَانِ فَلَمَّا
دَخَلْتُ³ إِلَى الْجَامِعِ وَرَأَيْتُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مُصْطَفِينَ كَصُفُوفِ
الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَقَائِلًا⁴ يَقُولُ لِي فِي سِرِّي هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةُ الَّتِي بَشَّرْتُ
بظهورها الأنبياءُ⁵ عليهم أفضل الصلاة والسلام فلما خرج
الخطيبُ لابسًا شعارَ⁶ السَّوَادِ حَصَلَ عِنْدِي مِنْهُ هَيْبَةٌ⁷ عَظِيمَةٌ
فَلَمَّا ضَرَبَ الْمَنْبَرَ بِسَيْفِهِ⁷ زَعَزَعَتْ ضَرْبَتُهُ جَمِيعَ أَعْضَائِي وَكَانَ
الخطيبُ يَوْمَئِذٍ ابْنُ⁸ الْمُؤَفَّقِ بَنِيهِ الْإِسْكَانْدَرِيَّةِ فَلَمَّا قَالَ فِي آخِرِ
خُطْبَتِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ⁹ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاءِ [ذِي] الْقُرْبَى
وَيَنْهَى عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ¹⁰ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ
فَلَمَّا قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ حَصَلَ لِي¹¹ حَالٌ عَظِيمٌ بِكَيْفِ كُنْتُ أَرَى صُفُوفَ
المسلمينَ كصُفُوفِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ¹² يَتَجَلَّى اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى

* هَيْبَةٌ . Ms.

لركوعهم وسجودهم وقايلاً يقول في ¹³سري إن كانت بنو إسرائيل
 حصل لهم خطاب الله في الدهر مرتين ¹⁴فقد حصل لهذه
 الأمة خطاب الله في كل صلاة وتقرر عندي أنني ¹⁵لم أخلق إلا
 مسلماً وكان إسلامي في مُستهلَّ شعبان سنة سبع (Ms., p. 34)
 وتسعين وستماية فلما سمعت القرآن في شهر رمضان ²رأيت فيه
 من الفصاحة العظيمة والبلاغة والإعجاز العظيم ³بحيث أن
 القصة التي تذكر في التوراة في كراسين مذكورة ⁶في ⁴آية أو آيتين
 وهذا هو الإعجاز العظيم لا يقدر بشر ⁵علي أن يأتي بآية من
 مثله مثل قوله تعالى وَإِذْ قَالَ مُوسَى لِقَوْمِهِ يَا قَوْمِ أذكروا نعمة
 الله عليكم إذ جعل فيكم أنبياءً وجعلكم ملوكاً ⁷واتاكم ما لم
 يوت أحداً من العالمين يَا قَوْمِ أَدْخَلُوا الْأَرْضَ ⁸الْمُقَدَّسَةَ الَّتِي
 كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ وَلَا تَرْتَدُّوا عَلَيَّ أَدْبَارِكُمْ فَتَنْقَلِبُوا خَاسِرِينَ ⁹وهذه
 القصة مكتوبة في التوراة في كراسين فلما أمرهم الله أن ¹⁰يدخلوا
 الأرض المقدسة طلبوا من موسى عليه السلام أن ¹¹يُرْسِلَ لَهُمْ
 نَصَادًا ففعل لهم ذلك واختاروا من كل سبط نقيباً ¹²وسمى كل
 واحد منهم باسمه من جبلتهم يوشع وكاليب وهما الرجلان

* Ms. بني. ^b We might supply في القرآن. ^c is repeated.

13 الدَّانِ ذَكَرَهُمُ اللَّهُ فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ وَمَذْكَورٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ صِفَةً
 دَخَلُوهُمْ 14 إِلَى الْأَرْضِ الْمُقَدَّسَةِ وَمَا جَرَى لَهُمْ فِي ثَمَارِ الْأَرْضِ وَمَا
 جَرَى لَهُمْ 15 مَعَ الْعَمَالِقَةِ وَطَلَبُوا بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ [أَنْ] يَرْجُمُوا مُوسَى
 فَحَالَ بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَهُ (Ms., p. 35) الْغَمَامُ وَهَذَا نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ
 فَإِنَّهَا مُكْرَمَةٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً 2 وَخَالَفُوا مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
 وَرَحَلُوا قَاصِدِينَ الشَّامَ فَخَرَجَتْ 3 لَهُمُ الْعَمَالِقَةُ وَكَسَرُوا بَنِي
 إِسْرَائِيلَ وَهَذَاكَ تَشَقَّعَ مُوسَى بِبِحَمْدِ 4 صَلي الله عليه وسلم فصل
 قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى وَمَا نُرْسِلُ إِلَّا مُبَشِّرِينَ وَمُنذِرِينَ اَعْلَمُ أَنَّ
 التَّوْرَةَ وَصُحُفَ 6 الْأَنْبِيَاءِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ أَخْبَرُوا بِجَمِيعِ
 مَا جَرَى فِي مَلِكِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ قَبْلَ وَقُوعِهِ وَأَنَّهُمْ حَدَّرُوا وَأَنْذَرُوا
 عَنِ وَقُوعِ فِتْنٍ 4 8 عِنْدَ انْتِهَائِهِ 9 سَبْعَ مِائَةِ سَنَةٍ هِلَالِيَّةٍ لِلْهَجْرَةِ
 النَّبَوِيَّةِ بِسَبَبِ مَا حَرَّفُوا 9 وَغَيَّرُوا وَأَبْدَلُوا مِنْ كَلَامِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
 وَجَعَدَهُمْ لِنَبْتَةِ الْمُصْطَفِيِّ وَكَفَرَهُمْ 10 بِالْمَسِيحِ عَيْسَى بْنِ مَرْيَمَ
 وَعَمَلَهُمُ الصُّورَ وَالتَّمَاثِيلَ فِي الْبَيْعِ الَّتِي بِسَبَبِهَا 11 خَرَبَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَ
 بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَبَّحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى أَوْعَدَ عِبَادَهُ 12 الْأَنْبِيَاءَ

• Ms. الرجلين الذين.

• Ms. بني.

• Ms. مُكْرَمَت.

• Ms. فتن.

• Ms. انْتَهَى.

بزوال الصور والتمثيل من البيع والكنائس وأعد الملك¹³ الذي
 يكون زوال ذلك علي يده بقرار ملكه وطول عمره ودوام¹⁴ عمره
 وطاعة ملوك الأرض له وبيان ذلك وبرهانه أن عند¹⁵ انتهاء
 التواريخ التي دلت عليها الكتب المنزلة وهي انتهاء سبع مائة
 سنة (Ms., p. 36) هلالية للهجرة النبوية خرب الله علي يد
 الملك غازان كنائس¹⁶ الشرق فانتصر غازان علي جيوش
 المسلمين فلما رجع¹⁷ المسلمون من كسرتهم ألهمهم الله
 سبحانه وتعالى غلق الكنائس وغلقتها¹⁸ بمقتضى الشرع
 الشريف المطهر فخرجوا المسلمون¹⁹ الي لقاء عدوهم²⁰ في نوبة
 شق²¹ فناصرهم الله ولم يزل بنو إسرائيل كذلك هكذا²² طول
 مملكتهم عند ما يعملون الصور والتمثيل ينكسروا قدام
 عدوهم [و] ما يمحوها ينتصروا علي عدوهم وتستقر مملكتهم
 فلما²³ رجعوا المسلمون²⁴ وقد نصروا علي عدوهم فتحت الكنائس
 وانتقضت²⁵ العهود فلما رأيت ذلك [حصل] عندي غيرة الله
 تعالي وخوف علي²⁶ المسلمين وعلي ملكهم عند انتهاء²⁷ سبع
 مائة سنة شمسية فتحركت²⁸ وتقدمت في طلب عقد مجلس

¹³ Ms. المسلمين.

¹⁶ Ms. شعجب.

¹⁹ Ms. المسلمين.

²⁷ Ms. إنتهي.

احتساباً لله تعالى يحضروا فيه عشرة¹² أحبارٍ من أحبارِ
اليهود وعشرة من قسيسي^b النصاري في¹³ حضرة علماء المسلمين
بين [يدي] الملك وبيدهم التوراة والأنجيل والرُبور¹⁴ وصحف
الأنبياء عليهم أفضل الصلاة والسلام وأظهروا ما حرّفوا وغيروا¹⁵
وبدلوا من كلام الله تعالى وأبين وأبرهن نبوة المصطفى وهو
(Ms., p. 37) محمّد بن عبد الله بن عبد المطلب من التوراة
والأنجيل والرُبور وصحف الأنبياء² وأقيم الحجج والأدلة
والبراهين من كتبهم علي مَنحو الصور³ والتمثيل من البيع
فاذا ظهر ذلك يُثبت للملك⁴ الناصر جميع ما وعد الله به
علي لسان أنبيائه ورسله وأفتت⁵ المفتيون قولاً واحداً هذا
رجل متقرب إلى الله تعالى بأفضل القرب ويجب علي ولي الأمر
إعانتة علي ذلك وأذنت أئمة الدين بعقد هذا المجلس
ورسمت⁷ نواب الملك بعقدته سِتّ مرارٍ بمصر والشام ولم يُعقد
فلا حول⁸ ولا قوّة إلا بالله العلي العظيم إنا لله وإنا إليه
راجعون⁹ فصل اعلم أن جميع ما وضعته في هذا المختصر¹⁰ هو

^a Ms. اجار.

^b Ms. قسيسين.

^c Ms. واطهروا, with final وا cancelled by the original hand.

^d Ms. الملك.

^e Ms. وافتت.

^f Ms. المفتيين.

مِمَّا جَاءَ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَصُحُفِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ لَكِنِّي جَمَعْتُهُ وَرَتَّبْتُهُ
 وَاسْتَخْرَجْتُهُ¹¹ مِنَ اللُّغَةِ الْعِبْرَانِيَّةِ وَالسُّرْيَانِيَّةِ إِلَى اللِّسَانِ الْعَرَبِيِّ
 الْمُبِينِ الَّذِي¹² نَطَقَ بِهِ سَيِّدُ الْأَوَّلِينَ وَالْآخِرِينَ وَجَعَلْتُهُ نَهْجَةً
 لِلنَّاطِرِينَ^a وَرُبَّمَا¹³ سَتَيْتُهُ الْمُحِيطَ فَإِنَّهُ أَحَاطَ بِجَمِيعِ قَوَاعِدِ
 الْعُلُومِ الْيَقِينِيَّةِ¹⁴ وَالْعُقُودِ الْإِيمَانِيَّةِ وَالنَّصَائِحِ الدِّينِيَّةِ وَالْمَقَامَاتِ
 الْعَامَّةِ وَالسُّلُوكَاتِ¹⁵ الْخَاصَّةِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ
 وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَقَدْ صُنِفَ (Margin) هَذَا الْكِتَابُ بِجَامِعِ بَنِي
 أُمَيَّةَ بِدِمَشْقِ الْمَكْرُوسَةِ فِي ثَانِي عَشَرَ رَبِيعِ الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ عَشْرِينَ
 وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ سَيِّدِنَا
 مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَحَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ وَلَا
 حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ . تَمَّ

TRANSLATION.

The Book of the Paths of Investigation, concerning the Prophetic Office of the Lord of Mankind.

The composition of the servant, poor in the sight of God Almighty, Sa'îd ibn Hasan, the Alexandrian. May God be pleased with him and make him happy, and make Paradise his abode and hellfire the abode of the enemies of Mohammed.

In the name of God, the merciful Compassionate One. Lord, bring it to a good conclusion! Amen.

Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds, and prayer and peace be unto our lord, Mohammed, seal of the prophets, and unto

* Note the rhyme in lines 11 and 12.

his family, his friends, his helpers, his pure wives, the mothers of the faithful, and unto those who follow them in good deeds till the Day of Judgment.

We begin, asking help of God in the blessing of Islam, to declare the prophetic office of the lord of mankind, Mohammed ibn Abdallah ibn Abdal-Muttalib, the trustworthy and faithful one, whose appearance the prophets of the Children of Israel announced, confirming the saying of the Exalted One in his great book: ¹“And we only sent the Apostles as preachers of good-tidings and warners”; and the word of the Exalted One: (p. 2) ²“And remember when God accepted the covenant of the prophets, saying, ‘Verily what I have brought you is of the scripture and of wisdom; hereafter an apostle shall come to you confirming the truth of that [scripture] which is with you; ye shall surely believe in him and ye shall assist him;’ God said, ‘Do ye acknowledge and do ye accept my covenant on this condition?’ They said, ‘We acknowledge it.’ He said, ‘Be ye therefore witnesses, and I also bear witness with you.’”

Know that as for the prophets, God sent them with clear arguments and convincing proofs; and they manifested and made known and spoke in proverbs which brought the truth near to the understanding. Moreover, when God related the story of Adam to Moses, in the first book of the Torah, he made known to him that when Adam was in the Garden he spoke Arabic, but when he drove him out, he forgot the Arabic language and spoke Syriac. Now he grieved sorely because of his loss of the Arabic language; so God said in revelation to him, “O Adam, grieve not, for this is the language of the people of Paradise. In Paradise there shall be offspring of thine who shall speak it; and they shall be of Paradise, or of the people of Paradise.”

Another fact which points to his prophetic office is in the story of Noah, in the first book of the Torah, after the story of Adam. When he went out from the ship he withdrew from his wives because of fear lest (p. 3) his offspring be drowned by another flood. But God spoke in revelation to him, saying, “O Noah, return to thy family, for I will not destroy the earth

¹ Sura 6th.

² Sura 3th.

again;” and God showed him the bow which was appearing in the clouds. Then he said to him, “This is my promise that I will not destroy the earth by a flood.”¹ Moreover, he showed him the prophets who were to come, and among them [was] Mohammed. And he said to him, “For the sake of this prophet, I will never destroy the earth by a flood.”

Another indication of his prophetic office and of the universality of his call is that which comes in the first book in the story of Abraham, the friend of God. When he escaped from the fire of Nimrod, his Lord appeared to him, speaking in the Hebrew tongue:² **קום התהלך בארץ לארכה ולרחבה כי לך אתננה**. This is the interpretation: Rise up, walk through the land, its length and breadth; to thy offspring we will give it. When Abraham told Sarah this vision, which was a dream, she knew that the promise of God was true. So she said to Abraham,³ “Drive Hagar and her Child from me.” And it is said that Abraham granted Sarah’s request and drove them both forth to the land of the Hijáz. (p. 4.) Then God Almighty said to Abraham, speaking in the Hebrew tongue:⁴ **כי ביצחק** **יקרא לך זרע**. This is the interpretation: As for Isaac, thou shalt have posterity through him; and as for Ishmael, I will bless him and multiply him and make him great, and I will make his offspring as the stars of the heavens, and from him will come Mohammed. And this latter verse in the Hebrew language is:⁵ **ולישמעאל שמעתיך הנה ברכתי אתו והפריתי** **אתו והרביתי אתו במאד מאד**. Those learned ones who comment on the Hebrew language have explained these two words, which are **מאד מאד**, as follows: Some say Ahmed, Ahmed; others say Very, Very; still others say Great, Great. But there has not appeared of the offspring of Ishmael a greater than Mohammed.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that when Hagar went forth, going toward the land of the Hijáz, and thirst came upon her and she cast the babe from her shoulder, it is written

¹ Gen. 9¹¹⁻¹³. ² Gen. 13¹⁷. ³ Gen. 21¹⁰. ⁴ Gen. 21¹⁹. ⁵ Gen. 17²⁰.

in the Torah that God sent unto her angels who caused a spring of water to flow. So she quenched her thirst and gave the babe drink. Then God Almighty spoke to her, saying,¹ (p. 5) “O Hagar, **קוּמִי שְׂאִי אֶת הַנֶּעֱר וְהַחֲזִיקִי אֹת יָדְךָ בּוֹ כִּי לְנֹי גְרֹל אֲשִׁמְנֵנּוּ**. This is the interpretation: Rise, carry this child and care for him, for from him shall come Mohammed, and his offspring shall be as the stars of the heavens.

Another indication of his prophetic office is in the first book of the Torah in the story of Jacob. As death was approaching, he gathered his children and said to them,² “Come near to me; I will tell you what shall happen in the last time.” So when they were gathered together he said to them,³ “Whom will ye serve after I am gone?” They said, “We will serve thy God and the God of thy fathers, Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, one God.” Yet there is not found in the Torah mention of anything which he predicted, but it is written in the Torah that he prayed for them and died. So it is known from this that they [the Jews] have removed from this verse the name of the prophet.

Another indication of his prophetic office is in the fourth book of the Torah, in the story of Balaam, son of Beor; the saying:⁴ “Behold a star which has appeared from the family of Ishmael and a tribe of Arabs sustaining him. Then because of his manifestation the earth quaked, and those who were upon it.”⁵ . . . of the offspring of Ishmael except Mohammed. And the earth quaked only because of his manifestation.

(p. 6.) Another indication of his prophetic office is an explicit passage in the fifth book of the Torah. God spoke to Moses saying, “Speak to the sons of Israel in the Hebrew language:⁶ **נְבִיא אֲקִים לָהֶם מִקְרֵב אַחֵיכֶם מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂמַעֵאל**” This is the

¹ Gen. 21¹⁸.² Gen. 49¹.³ Sura 2¹²⁷.⁴ Num. 24¹⁷.⁵ The copyist has here omitted some words.

⁶ Deut. 18^{18a}. Note that the Ms. text has omitted **בְּמֹדֶךְ**, and supplied the significant words, **מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂמַעֵאל** Note also **אַחֵיכֶם** instead of **אַחֵיהֶם**.

interpretation: We will send unto you a prophet from your kindred, of the children of your brother Ishmael, in whose mouth I will put my speech. In the Hebrew language:¹ **וְשַׁמְתִּי דְבָרִי בְּפִי אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁמָעוּ** I will put my speech in his mouth, and him they shall obey.

Another indication of his prophetic office and of the universality of his call is an explicit passage, with which the Torah is sealed:² **אֲדוֹנָי מְסִינִי בְּאֶרֶץ מִשְׁעִיר הוֹפִיעַ מֵהַר פָּאֵרָן וְאֵתָהּ** **מֵרִבְּבַת קָדְשׁ** This is the interpretation: God came from Sinai and rose from Seir. He revealed himself from the mountains of Paran and appeared with his holy myriads; on his right hand, light, and on his left, fire; unto him the nations assembled and to him the tribes gathered together. The people who know (p. 7) the Hebrew language agree that the mountains of Paran are the mountains of Mecca, and the ten thousands of his holy ones are the people of the Ka'ba. Yet there has not appeared from that region any but Mohammed.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that when Moses battled with the Amalekites and the Children of Israel were routed, Moses made entreaty to God asking for help through Mohammed, saying in the Hebrew language:³ **זְכֹר לְעִבְדֶּיךָ** **וְלִישְׁמַעֵאל** **לְאַבְרָהָם**. This is the interpretation: Remember the covenant with Abraham in which thou didst promise to him that of the offspring of Ishmael thou wouldst render victorious the armies of the believers. So God answered his prayer and made the Children of Israel victorious over the Amalekites through the blessing of Mohammed.

¹ Deut. 18^{18b}. Note that the Ms. text has **וְנִתְּתִי** instead of **וְשַׁמְתִּי**. The two concluding words are taken from verse 15 of this same chapter. They are, apparently, **אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁמָעוּ** (with change of person). See the note on the Arabic text.

² Deut. 33². Note that the Ms. text omits **לְמוֹ**, which occurs in the Hebrew text after **מִשְׁעִיר**.

³ Deut. 9²¹. Sa'id interpolates **וְלִישְׁמַעֵאל**.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that when Joshua, the successor of Moses, conquered Syria and made war on the Amalekites, his army was routed three times because of their unfaithfulness to the covenant.¹ For a man belonging to Joshua's army took a cross of gold from the booty of the Amalekites; so his army was routed three times because of the cross which was taken wrongfully. Then Joshua prayed to God Almighty, asking help by Mohammed, in imitation of the example of Moses. Wherefore God answered his prayer and gave him victory. And God spoke in revelation (p. 8) to Joshua, saying, "The children of Israel have been faithless to my covenants, in that they took wrongfully of the booty, for the booty was unlawful for them." So Joshua inquired carefully of his army and found with one among them a cross of gold. Thereupon Joshua killed and impaled him. Then they conquered the Amalekites.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that which is written in the Psalms of David: "Blessing upon you, O sons of Ishmael, blessing upon you. A prophet shall be sent from among you; his hand shall be supreme over all peoples, and all peoples shall be under his power." Also in the Hebrew language, in the first book of the Torah, in the story of Ishmael, [it is written] that God promised Abraham that as for his son Ishmael his hand should be supreme over all. And it is the saying of the Exalted One:² יְדוּ בְּכֹל יַד כָּל בּוֹ וְעַל פְּנֵי כָל אָחִיו יִשְׁכֵּן. This is the interpretation in Arabic: His hand shall be supreme over every people and every people shall be under his power; also he shall dwell in every dwelling of his brethren. But it is well known that as for Ishmael, there came to him no kingdom, and his hand was not supreme over the hand of his brethren; also that he did not go down to Syria and did not dwell there: This happened to no one but Mohammed; and his people are they who dwell in the dwelling-places of the Children of Israel, in Egypt and Syria. This, then, is a decisive proof (p. 9) of his prophetic office.

¹ Joshua 7. A rather confused account of Achan's sin.

² Gen. 16¹².

Another indication of his prophetic office is that which is written in the Psalms of David: "Exalt God, all ye people, and assert belief in the unity of God, O ye families of the Earth. A prophet of mercy will be sent to you."

Another indication of his prophetic office is what is written in the book of Isaiah, the speech of the Exalted One by his own tongue in the Hebrew language:¹ **שְׁמַעוּ שָׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְהָאֲזִינוּ אֲרָץ**. This is the interpretation. Listen, O heavens, and be reassured, O earth! Why dost thou tremble? He will send unto thee a prophet; through him invoke mercy. Know also that God sent twenty-four prophets after Moses' death; the first of them Joshua, and the last of them Zechariah, who was sawn asunder with a saw. And every prophet has a book in the Hebrew, in which is written the knowledge of that which has gone and of that which shall come, on the authority of God Almighty.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that which is written in the book of Elijah. When he went out on his journey with seventy men as his companions, and saw the Arabs in the land of the Hijáz, he said to those who were with him, "See these who possess your strongholds." Then they said, "O prophet of God, who is he who shall be their object of worship?" And he replied to them in the Hebrew (p. 10) language:² **יְשִׁימוּ לְאָרְצִי כְבוֹד וְתִהְיֶה לָּם כְּאִיִּים יְגִידוּ**. This is the interpretation in Arabic: They shall assert their belief in the unity of God from every great pulpit. His followers said to him, "O prophet of God, who shall teach them this?" Then he said to them in the Hebrew language:³ **בֶּן נֹזֵר לְבֵן יִשְׁמַעֵאל**. This is the interpretation in Arabic: A child shall be born from the offspring of Ishmael; his name shall be associated with the name of God, and whenever the name of God Almighty is mentioned, his name shall be mentioned. But this happened to no other than Mohammed.

Another indication of the prophetic office is the following. One of the kings of the Children of Israel was named Ahab.

¹ Isa. 1^o.² Isa. 42^o.³ I Ki. 13^o. Ms. text substitutes **בֵּית דָּוִד** for **בֶּן יִשְׁמַעֵאל**.

He was a tyrant and one who killed the prophets. He also denied the God of Moses, and made idols and served them. Moreover, he set up an altar and offered upon it offerings to the idols. Then God sent to him a prophet who was named Micha, and he cried out with a loud voice,¹ O Altar, O Altar, God says to thee, A prophet God Almighty will send, אֲשִׁירוּ שְׁמוֹ² (that is, by interpretation, A name associated with the name of God Almighty); in his name unbelief will cease from the Earth. In proof of the truth of my word, thou shalt be split, O Altar!" And [it was so, for] the prophet had hardly completed his speech when the altar was split and its ashes were scattered on the ground. Then the king desired to kill the prophet, but his hand withered.

(p. 11) Another indication of his prophetic office. One of the kings of the Children of Israel was named Manasseh (Isaiah the prophet was his grandfather), and he was an unbeliever and served idols. He went out to battle with a certain king, and this king conquered Manasseh and found in Manasseh's possession an idol of hollow copper, which he was accustomed to worship. So the king took Manasseh and put him inside the idol and built fires beneath him. Then Manasseh began to ask for help of all the rest of the idols, but they gave him no help. When the fire reached his heart, he cried unto God, asking help through Mohammed, following the example of his grandfather, Isaiah. Then God rescued him and helped him by means of angels; freeing him from the idol and giving him victory over his enemy by the blessing of Mohammed. Moreover, God restored him to his kingdom and he repented most thoroughly.

Another indication of his prophetic office. One of the prophets of the Children of Israel was named Obadiah, which means, "servant of God." He went out on his pilgrimage, and found the Jews dwelling in the land of the Hijâz; they entertained him as their guest, but he wept bitterly. So they (p. 12) said to him, "What makes you weep, O prophet of God?" He replied, "A prophet, whom God will send from the Arabs, and whom the angels will help, will lay waste your houses, take

¹ Sa'id has confused Ahab and Jeroboam.

² I Ki. 13².

your women captive and make your children orphans." Then the Jews sought to kill him, but he fled.

Know this: When the Sea was divided for Moses, and Pharaoh and his army were submerged while the Children of Israel went forth on the other side, then God revealed himself to Moses on the side of the Mount (Sinai), saying, "O Moses, tell the Children of Israel to wash their garments, purify their bodies, and withdraw from their wives for three days, for I will reveal myself to them." And when it was the morning of the third day, behold, the Earth was shaken and the mountains were laid low. Then God appeared, saying in the Hebrew language:¹ **אַנְכִי אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם.**

This is the interpretation: I am the Lord thy God who have brought thee out of Egypt; thou shalt not serve any God beside me, for I am a jealous God. (p. 13) Thereupon all the Children of Israel died. Then God brought them to life; and they said, "Hear thou, O Moses, the word of God, and speak to us, for we are not able to hear the speech of God lest we die." So God made a covenant with them, in thirty-six compacts, that they should follow the *sunna* of Abraham, their grandfather, and that they should take neither idol nor crucifix nor image; and they accepted the covenant upon this condition. Then the earth was quieted and the mountain was raised up from them. Thereupon God commanded Moses to tell the Children of Israel to return to their families, but he commanded Moses to draw near to him. So Moses remained in the Mount forty days. And God threw the tablets on the ground; and there was written on the first tablet, "I am God thy Lord"; on the second, "Thou shalt not serve any god besides me"; and on them was written the rest of the Ten Words. In the Torah it is written that the tablets are the workmanship of God and the book is the writing of God. When Moses went down [from the Mount] with the tablets in his hand and found the Children of Israel worshipping a golden calf, he threw down the tablets, (p. 14) and the earth was split open and swallowed them up. Then Moses killed every one of the Children of Israel who had worshipped the Calf.

¹ Ex. 20².

Another indication of his prophetic office is, that when Jacob went forth a fugitive from his brother Esau, he saw in his sleep a ladder raised from earth to heaven,¹ and it had five steps. He saw also in his sleep a mighty people ascending on that ladder and angels helping them and the gates of heaven opened. Then his Lord appeared to him, saying, "O Jacob, fear not, I am with thee, hearing and seeing. Express thy wish, O Jacob." So he said, "Lord, who are those ascending on that ladder?" God replied, "They are the offspring of Ishmael." Then he said, "Lord, how have they drawn near to thee?" And God replied, "By the five prayers which I have imposed upon them, by day and by night; they have accepted them, and they act accordingly." So when Jacob awoke from his sleep he imposed on his offspring the five prayers. Yet God did not impose on the Children of Israel any prayer in the Torah, but only offerings which they should offer. This story is in the first book of the Torah, after the story of Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac. (p. 15) But the Children of Israel and their learned ones have not ceased praying the five prayers, following the custom of their ancestor, Jacob; and the prophets of the Children of Israel have not ceased to preach the appearance of Mohammed and to swear by his life and to desire to be in his time, and when the hidden things shall be disclosed to them, to see his people drawn up in prayer like lines of angels. Moreover, Samuel the prophet has made a proverb for this, saying:² **וּפְרָה וְדָב תִּרְעֵינָה וְנִמְר** **עִם גְּרֵי יִרְבֵּץ**. This in the interpretation: The lion and the wolf shall come together in one feeding place; the leopard and the kid shall dwell harmoniously in one place. The meaning of this is that king and poor will be equal in the ranks of those who pray. And verily the learned men of the Children of Israel and their prophets have ordained the matter for them in their prayers, making entreaty therein unto God Almighty by Mohammed, and desiring to be in his time and see his days.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that which is written in the book of Ezekiel. God said with his own tongue

¹ Gen. 28¹².

² Isa. 11^{7a, 6a/b}.

in the Hebrew language:¹ **הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמַךְ בּוֹ (ב) בְּחִירִי רְצִתָּהּ** **נִפְשִׁי עָלָיו נָתַתִּי רוּחִי בּוֹ מִשְׁפָּט לְגוֹיִם יִצְיִיא** (p. 16). This is the interpretation: Behold my servant, the one chosen by me, the son of my beloved. I have chosen him and sent him to the nations with trustworthy wisdom. As for his saying, “my servant,” Mohammed was addressed as one who was in the service [of God]; as for his saying “son of my beloved,” God called Abraham “beloved” in the Torah, and Ishmael God called “beloved.” Moreover, God taked with Abraham, saying in the Hebrew language:² **קַח אֶת בְּנֶךָ אֶת יְחִידְךָ אֲשֶׁר אָהַב**. This is the interpretation: Take thy son, thine only one whom I love, and offer him to me for an offering. So this verse points to the fact that the sacrificed is Ishmael, from the text of the Torah, because Abraham had no “only-one” except Ishmael. For it was after this occurrence that the angels announced to him [the birth of] Isaac, and Abraham loved only Ishmael.

Another indication of his prophetic office was given when the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was sent. Now his mission was in the [time of the] second temple, for the first temple, the holy house which Solomon son of David had built, Nebuchadnezzar destroyed, and (p. 17) prophecy was cut off with the destruction of the first temple. It remained a ruin seventy years. After that, a king called Cyrus rebuilt it, and it remained prosperous 480 years after its erection; and in it appeared the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary—upon him be most excellent prayer and peace. He lived in a time of wise men and philosophers; he cured those who were blind, and the lepers; he made the dead live, by the permission of God, and he made clay into the form of birds. Moreover, they gathered a tribunal, and the wise

¹ Isa. 42¹. Like many of his predecessors, Sa'id applies this verse to Mohammed. He tries to show that the “only son” whom Abraham was going to sacrifice was Ishmael; Isaac was not yet born. The original Hebrew text of Isa. 42¹ makes **עָלָיו** follow **רוּחִי**, and connects **בּוֹ** with **אֶתְמַךְ**.

² Gen. 22². Note the significant change from the Hebrew **אֲשֶׁר אָהַבְתָּ**.

men of the Children of Israel united together against him. Then one of their learned men who was called Simeon Ballakish¹ stood up against him and said, "We believe not in thee, and we agree not with thee in what thou hast claimed and in what thou hast brought; because Moses informed us in his law, on the authority of God Almighty, that the prophet sent in the last time should be of the offspring of Ishmael, but thou art of the Children of Israel. And this is the saying of the Exalted One in the Torah:² וְלֹא יָקֻם נָבִיא עוֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמֹשֶׁה." This is the interpretation: There shall not arise among the Children of Israel one like Moses. So they decreed the death of Jesus, and killed him (according to their assertion, and the assertion of the Christians). They [the Christians] also denied him; and the denial of the Messiah by the Christians is more grievous than the denial by the Jews, because they agree that the hand through which nails were driven was the hand by which the heavens and the earth were created; and there is no sort of unbelief worse than this. They also picture him in their temples (p. 18) crucified, nailed, and the children of the Jews stoning him with stones.

Know that as for the Christian religion, its followers do not at all regard the *sunna* of the Messiah nor his religious law, but they follow the *sunna* of the kings who were unbelievers among the Children of Israel, those who broke the covenants of God and pictured for themselves images and likenesses in the churches, on account of which came the destruction of the kingdom of the Children of Israel. For verily because of a single picture which was painted in the house of Solomon son of David, although he did not know it, God wrested from him the kingdom. Also because of a single cross, the army of Joshua, the successor of Moses, was routed three times. But the Messiah did not ordain for them the making of pictures nor of crucifixes. But they have quoted from the Messiah in their Gospels, those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, that he allowed them dead things, and blood, and swine's flesh. But

¹ Probably the Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish, the celebrated Palestinian teacher, who lived in the third century A. D.

² Deut. 34¹⁰.

God forbid that the Messiah should have had anything to do with this! For he said,¹ "I came not to destroy the law of Moses, but I came to fulfill it." And the law of Moses forbids dead things and blood and swine's flesh. They have quoted also from the Messiah in their Gospels that he forbade circumcision, but circumcision is the *sunna* of the prophets and it was the *sunna* of Abraham before them. It is also enjoined upon the Children of Israel in the Torah, and this is a proof of their having changed the Gospels which Jesus brought.

Know (may God Almighty direct thee) that I have repeatedly studied the four Gospels, but I find in them no mention at all of Mohammed, as he is mentioned in the Torah and in the books of the prophets. This, too, is a (p. 19) proof of their having changed the Gospels which Jesus brought.

Know also that Moses remained in the desert forty years; and in the thirty-ninth year of their exodus from Egypt God spoke to Moses, commanding him to gather from the elders of the Children of Israel seventy men, and go up with them to the Mount. So Moses did this, taking the chiefs of the Children of Israel and the heads of their tribes; and he went up with them to another mount. Then God revealed himself to Moses in an appearance mightier than the first. On that day there were earthquakes, lightnings and thunderings, eclipses and great fear; and all the nations in all the rest of the universe trembled at this. Then God spoke to Moses, saying, Speak to the Children of Israel:² אָרוּר הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה פֶסֶל וּמַסֵּכָה. This is the interpretation: Cursed is he who makes a cross or image; cursed is he who worships them; cursed is (p. 20) he who allows this among the people. Then God talked with Moses about this matter; and all the Children of Israel said Amen to it. So Moses remained in the Mount forty days, and the tablets which he had thrown on the ground came down [again from heaven], and on them were written the Ten Words. And when Moses went down with the tablets in his hand, no one was able to look at him, so God commanded him to put on a veil and to put the

¹ Matt. 5¹⁷.

² Deut. 27¹⁵. Our Massoretic text reads פֶּסֶל, without the *dagesh*.

tablets in the ark of the covenant.¹ And he put with them a copy of the Torah in his own handwriting, for God commanded him to go up the Mount to his death.

Another indication of his prophetic office is this. When Moses went up to his death, he asked God to show him the peoples up to the day of the Resurrection; and when he saw Mohammed and his people this verse was set down in the Torah:² אֲדַנִּי מִסִּינַי בָּא וְחָרָה מִשְׁעִיר הוֹפִיעַ מִהַר פָּאֵרָן וְאָתָה מֵרֶכֶת קָדִישׁ. This is the interpretation: God came from Sinai, and shone forth from Seir; he revealed himself from the mountains of Paran, and appeared from among his holy myriads; at his right hand light, and at his left hand fire; to him the peoples assembled, and unto him the nations came together. The wise men of the Children of Israel, the commentators of the Torah, (p. 21) comment on this, and explain that the fire is the victorious sword of Mohammed, and that the light is his law, which guides aright.

There is the saying of the Exalted One in his great book:³ And remember when Moses said to his people, "O my people, remember the favor of God to you, since he hath placed among you prophets and hath made you rulers and hath given you what he hath given no other nation in the world. O people, go in to the consecrated land which God hath appointed for you, and turn not your backs, lest going astray ye perish." But the Children of Israel went into Syria, and their kings were the prophets Joshua, David and Solomon. In the rule of the son of Solomon, the kingdom of the Children of Israel was divided. They were unbelievers; they killed the prophets and broke the covenants of God. And one of their kings who was named Jeroboam was the cause of their unbelief. Moreover he was a tyrant and a philosopher. Now Alhidr was present one day at his court, and heard him say that Moses said in his law: "If ye break the covenant of God, then the heavens will hold back

¹ Literally, "ark of the shekinah" (שְׁכִינָה).

² Deut. 33². The citation omits לְמוֹ after מִשְׁעִיר. So also above (Ms., p. 6, line 11).

³ Sura 5²³⁻²⁴.

the rain and it will not rain, and the earth will withhold the vegetation and it will not grow." Then Alhidr stood up and said, 'חִי אֲדָנָי אִם יֵשׁ טַל וּמָטָר כִּי אִם לִפִּי דְבָרִי' (p. 22)

This is the interpretation: By the power of God, dew and rain shall not come down except by the permission of God Almighty. Then the king desired to kill Alhidr but God hid him from him. Both dew and rain were withheld for three years, and the people perished on that account. After this, Alhidr came into the king's court and asked him to summon the priests and learned men. So there gathered to him four hundred men, and he asked the king for two calves of the herd. Then Alhidr said to the priests, "Choose for yourselves a calf and slaughter it. Put firewood on it, and call upon your gods, and I will do the same with another calf. Let me call upon my Lord, and do you call upon your god and whichever god's fire comes down and devours the calf, he is the god whom we will serve." So the priests slaughtered their calf, and put firewood on it; they asked help of their gods, but they did not give heed to them. Then Alhidr began to scoff at them and to say: "Arouse your gods from sleep; let them not sleep nor be distracted from you in their journey. Call upon them with a mighty voice; peradventure they will hear you." And Alhidr took his calf, slaughtered it and put it in a ditch. With it he put water instead of firewood, and he stretched out his hand, saying:³

עֲנֵנִי אֲדָנָי עֲנֵנִי הַיּוֹם יוֹדַע כִּי אַתָּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים. This is the interpretation: Help me, (p. 23) O God, to-day. Let it be known that thou, thou art the God, and beside thee there is no God at all. And he had hardly completed the speech when fire came down and devoured the calf and licked up the water. Then the Children of Israel fell prostrate, saying, "Allah is our God; there is no god but he." Thereupon Alhidr slaughtered the priests with his own hand in the pit, and the rain came down. Yet the king did not turn from his unbelief, but desired to kill Alhidr; but God hid him from him.

¹ I Ki. 17¹.

² The O. T. Hebrew has יְהוָה.

³ I Ki. 18²⁷. The original Hebrew reads: עֲנֵנִי יְהוָה עֲנֵנִי יוֹדַעוּ: הָעַם הַזֶּה כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that when the temple was laid waste, Nebuchadnezzar returned to his kingdom and saw in his sleep an image;¹ its two feet on the earth and its head in the heavens. Its head was of gold, its breast and fore-arms of silver, its belly of copper, its thighs of iron, and its two feet of baked clay. And he saw the heavens opened, and lo, an angel in whose hand was a sword. He cut off the golden head, and the image fell and was broken to pieces; and its two feet rose up above the rest of the body. Now when Nebuchadnezzar awoke from his sleep he summoned Daniel, who was his vizier, and told him the dream. Then Daniel said: The golden head, it is thou, O king; and the silver, they are thy children [who shall rule after thee; the copper, they are kings] who shall rule after thy children and be called Kosroes and Emperors and those like them of the kingdom of the Greeks. And the baked clay, they are kings who shall appear in the last time and be the most glorious of the nations. (p. 24) Their words shall be exalted among the rest of the peoples, even as the baked clay was lifted up above the rest of the image. The angel who came down from the heavens and cut off the golden head is the prophet sent to all the nations; he it is who shall purify the earth from the worship of idols. The confirmation of this is that the king will perish. And Daniel had hardly completed his words when the earth was rent and swallowed up Nebuchadnezzar.

Another indication of his prophetic office and of the truth of his law is that which comes in the book of Abraham. The Exalted One said:² O Abraham, take four birds, four of the herd, and four wild beasts. Then he commanded him to divide every one of them into two halves; but he commanded him not to divide the birds. He also commanded him to call them. So Abraham did this, and they came to him eagerly, alive, and as they [originally] had been. Then God said to Abraham, "Thus I bring the dead to life and raise whoever is in the grave." The wise men of the Children of Israel say in explanation of this passage, that the kinds of beasts are the peoples who preceded the appearance of Mohammed; they who have

¹ Cf. Daniel 2³¹ ff.

² Gen. 15⁹⁻¹⁰.

perished, and whose kingdom has been divided. [They say also] that as for the birds previously mentioned, it is an allusion to Ishmael and his offspring, who will neither perish nor separate till the Resurrection day.

(p. 25) Another indication of his prophetic office and of the truth of his law is that which is written in the book of Ezekiel.¹ When he went out on his journey, he found a great cemetery, and in it were bones decayed and crumbled. So he stood still, grieved in his heart and wondering how these bones should return to their former condition. Thereupon God Almighty spoke to him, saying, "O son of Adam, say, 'O bones, O decayed, O crumbled, hear the word of God, for he says to you, Come together one part unto another.'" And when he had finished his speech, behold, the cemetery was shaken; the bones came together; the sinews were stretched; the veins and the fluid-bearing tissues were commingled, and the skin covered them. Then God said to him, "Say, 'O spirit, go into them.'" As he said this, they immediately rose up, standing and shaking off the dust from their faces and heads. And they bore witness that there is no God but Allah, he is alone, and has no partner; and that death is true but life is vanity. Then they said to their prophet, "Are we in the world or in the Resurrection which has come?" He replied, "Nay, ye are in the world." And there were some who sought death and returned to death; but others entered the city. This occurrence was in the time of (p. 26) Jeroboam, the king who was an unbeliever. And he saw this mighty sign, yet he did not turn from his unbelief. Moreover he was a philosopher.²

Another indication of his prophetic office is that his name in the Torah is **מֵאֵר מֵאֵר**,³ and in the books of the prophets, **אִשְׁרָיָהוּ**.⁴ Now the wise men of the Children of Israel who comment on the Torah explain this. Some say, Very, Very; others say, Ahmed, Ahmed; still others say, Great, Great. And as for him who says Much, Much, it is an homonymous

¹ Ez. 37¹⁻¹⁰.

² Jeroboam, "a philosopher"!

³ Gen. 17²⁰. Part of a prophecy relating to Ishmael.

⁴ I Ki. 13².

expression; that is, it signifies Great, Great. But there has not appeared of the offspring of Ishmael one mightier than Mohammed. His name in the books of the prophets is יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ . This name is one of the names of God Almighty and it is not applied to anyone else but Mohammed.

Know that the length of the kingdom of the Children of Israel was 852 years. Of that time, for 700 years they followed the code of Moses, and every king who attacked them perished, as did Sennacherib and other kings. Then after 700 years their kingdom was divided, and Jeroboam was raised up as king in the city Damascus. He made images and likenesses; he stopped the pilgrimage to the temple, and gave orders to kill whoever should make a pilgrimage to it. (p. 27) Then war broke out between him and the son of Solomon, son of David. Nine tribes and a half tribe of the Children of Israel followed with this king, and he was given the victory over the son of Solomon. In the first battle fought by the two armies more than 800,000 of their number were killed. But war did not cease among them; civil wars and the sword continued for 152 years. This king also killed the prophets and burned the law of Moses.¹ After that, God sent Nebuchadnezzar. He burned the temple and killed (aside from the blood of Zechariah) 84,000 nobles, and scattered the people through the earth. The temple remained in ruins for seventy years. During that time appeared the Samaritans; they created a law of their own and traced their lineage back to Moses. In this time also appeared the *Karrâ'ûna*² who believe that Ezra³ is the son of God. They are the people who dwell in the land of the *Hijâz*. Then, after seventy years, appeared a king who was called Cyrus. He built the temple and the Jews gathered unto it. It remained prosperous for 480 years, and in that time appeared the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary. Now the cause of the destruction of the first house, which Solomon son of David built, was their breaking the (p. 28) covenants of God, their making images and likenesses, and their killing the prophets. The cause of the destruction of the second house, which Cyrus built, was the disagreement of their learned men about the essence of the Creator, about his attributes and about his word, and their denial of the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary.

¹ Jer. 36?² The Karaites.³ Cf. Sura 9³⁰.

There is disagreement in regard to the word of the Creator. Some say, "without word or voice," and others say, "with word and voice." But the cause of this is following the philosophers and belief in their Way; for they believe in the pre-existence of the world, and this is the great mistake which has brought them down to the lowest of the low. For they are ignorant about the Existing and the Creation and the Creator; they are ignorant of the truth of prophecy and of the high ranks of the prophets; they deny the Creator and nullify his power; and their intelligence stops short at the material universe. Moreover Plato and Aristotle, their great men, are too weak to understand the truth of the body, so how is there any way for them to reach the knowledge of the word of the Creator? But the prophets have pierced the veil; they have communicated with the unseen world and have brought tidings on the authority of God Almighty, that he created the world from nothing with a power with which impotence was not mixed, and with a might to which weakness was not joined. And this is the beginning of the Torah, the saying of the Exalted One, **בְּרָאשִׁית בְּרָא**,¹ (p. 29) which means, God created the world from nothing.

Know that philosophy is an ancient Way, and its people have separated into sects. Among them are the Dahariya, who do not believe in a Creator; others are the Halúliya, still others are the Unitarians; some believe in the pre-existence of the world and the [consequent] limitation of the power of the Creator; and others are the Šábians, who worship the stars. All the philosophers believe in the pre-existence of the world, not empty and not full; and they put the God of the world inside the firmament. They are enemies of God and of the apostles. They are the ones who laid the foundation for the worship of idols; they fashioned pictures and likenesses; they made temples² and pyramids; and their great men claimed divinity, as Nimrod son of Canaan, and Pharaoh. So when this appeared and was disclosed, the Creator was jealous for his essence, and sent the apostles with signs and proofs and wonderful miracles to show

¹ Gen. 1¹.

² The Arabic word, **بَيْتَة**, is the transcription of a Coptic word, and is applied to Egyptian temples.

the nature of his being. And when God sent Moses he said to him, "Pharaoh will not believe in thee, for I have chosen to multiply my signs and wonders in the land of Egypt." This is in the Hebrew language: ¹ **לְמַעַן רַבּוֹת מוֹפְתַי בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם**.

In answer to the (p. 30) belief of the philosophers, namely, in the pre-existence of the world: Know that by this world I mean the firmament and what it includes. It is as one corporeal form; its exterior is simple and its soul and interior are compounded in their divisions, and composed of substance and form. In it are those who have knowledge, as animate things, and those who have no knowledge, as inanimate objects. And it is an absurdity that this should come into existence of itself, because of the complexity of its essence; and it necessarily follows from this that some other has created it. Now its coming into existence is possible only in one of four ways:

The first possibility is that its existence was derived from substance which was eternal and form which was eternal. And this is an absurdity in reason and divine law and nature, that any being should actually exist as substance without form or as form without substance; and if they say that 'primitive matter' had existence, then its existence was ideal, not real; because ideal existence is not the cause of the really-existing thing; rather, the really existing thing is the cause of the ideal existence.

The second possibility is, that its existence, I mean that of the firmament and what it includes, is from substance which was eternal and form which had not previously existed. This idea some of the theologians adopt, for they say that the Agent is living and powerful and willing. They also affirm to him the rest of the attributes, and make him do with substance what he wishes, and make in it a form which did not exist. (p. 31) But this idea is worthless for two reasons. One of them is this: It is necessary that the Agent should have materials, just as the builder builds a house from parts of the house previously prepared, such as plaster and stone. The other consideration is, that substance would be associated with the Agent in eternity, and if he had wished to get along without it he would not

¹ Ex. 11^{9b}.

have been able. But God forbid that he should have a partner in his kingdom; he is too high and too great for this!¹

The third possibility is, that it came into being from substance which had not existed and form which was eternal; but it is absurd that any actual thing should subsist in nothing.

So it necessarily follows and results, because of that which the speculative, argumentative analogy necessitates, that this existence of the world, by which I mean the firmament and what it includes, is from substance which had not existed and form which had not existed. This is the 'nothing,' the idea of which all the prophets and apostles brought.

Know (and may God direct thee to his obedience) that the prophets are diversified, in spite of the importance of their condition and their high rank. Some God addressed in their sleep; to others God spoke in revelation or from behind a screen; and another is he who is always in the presence of the Holy One.

Know that (p. 32) Solomon, son of David, made a parable. He told of a sleeping man, who saw in his sleep a person who had died some time previously. That dead person spoke to the sleeper in his sleep and informed him of hidden things, by lip and tongue and word and voice, although lip and tongue and word and voice were not there. So when the sleeper awoke from his sleep, he told all that the dead person said to him, by lip and tongue and word and voice. Then the prophet said that the trustworthy vision is one of forty-six parts of prophecy. And among men there is he who sees dreams and believes that he is awake; but prophecy is greater than the waking [vision], beyond all comparison.

Know (and may God Almighty direct thee to his service) that I was one of the learned men of the Children of Israel, but God bestowed Islam upon me. The occasion was this: I became ill and a physician was attending me. The shroud of death was prepared for me, when I saw in my sleep one speaking who said, "Read the sura *Al-hamd*;² then you will escape death." So when I awoke from my sleep I immediately sought one of the

¹ Sura 17⁴⁵.² Sura 1.

trustworthy Moslems. He was my neighbor, and I grasped his hand, saying, "I bear witness that there is no God but Allah, he alone, and he has no partner; and I bear witness (p. 33) that Mohammed is his servant and apostle, whom he has sent with guidance and the true religion, to make it triumph over every religion." And I began repeating and saying, "O strengthener of the heart, strengthen me in the belief!" Then when I entered the mosque and saw the Moslems in rows like ranks of angels, a voice within me said, "This is the nation concerning whose appearance the prophets preached good tidings"; and when the preacher advanced clothed in black hair-cloth, great reverential fear came over me. And when he struck the pulpit with his sword,¹ his blow shook all my limbs. Now the preacher at that time was Ibn Al-Muwaffak, on the border of Alexandria. When he said, at the end of his sermon,² "Verily God commandeth justice, well-doing and giving unto your kindred; and he forbiddeth wickedness, iniquity and oppression. He hath warned you; it may be that ye will remember," and when the prayers began, I was greatly moved, because I saw the rows of the Moslems like rows of angels, and God revealing himself as they bowed in prayer and as they prostrated themselves. Then a voice within me said, "If the revelation of God came to the Children of Israel twice in the course of time, then it comes to this people in every prayer." Then I was convinced that I was created to be a Moslem only; and my conversion to Islam took place in the beginning of the month Sha'bân, in the (p. 34) year 697.³

When I heard the Koran in the month Ramadân, I saw in it so great eloquence and such skill of speech that a narrative which is given in the Torah in a score of pages⁴ is given [in the Koran] in one or two verses; and this is great eloquence. No one is able to produce a single verse like it. Thus, for exam-

¹ In the villages which Islam conquered by force, the preacher on Friday carried a wooden sword or staff during the khuṭba (Goldziher in *Rev. des Ét. J.*, vol. xxx, p. 4).

² Sura 16th. The second of the two sermons, which is called the *Khuṭbat an-Na'at*, addressed to the community on Friday by the Khaṭīb from the top of the minbar, always ends with this verse from the Koran (Goldziher, *ibid.*, p. 4).

³ May, 1298 A.D.

⁴ Literally, in two *kurrâsas*.

ple, the saying of the Exalted One: And remember when Moses said to his people,¹ “O my people, remember God’s favor to you, in that he appointed prophets among you and made you kings and brought to you what he brought to no one else in the universe. O my people, enter the holy land which God hath bequeathed to you, and turn not your backs, lest ye go astray and perish.” This story is written in the Torah in a score of pages.² Now when God commanded them to enter the holy land they demanded of Moses that he send them directors. So he did this for them, and they chose chiefs from every tribe. Everyone of them was named by his name; and among them all were Joshua and Caleb; they are the two men whom God has mentioned in his great book.³ There is also given in the Torah a description of their entering the holy land, and what happened to them regarding the fruit of the land, and what they experienced with the Amalekites. And the Children of Israel sought to (p. 35) stone Moses, but clouds came between him and them. On this occasion was revealed the verse:⁴ “And verily it shall be forbidden to them for forty years.” So they disobeyed Moses and marched to Syria. But the Amalekites went against them and routed the Children of Israel, whereupon Moses interceded through Mohammed.

Concerning the saying of the Exalted One:⁵ “And we only sent the apostles as preachers and warners.” Know that the Torah and the books of the prophets announced all that happened in the kingdom of the Children of Israel before its fall, and that they warned and cautioned against the coming of rebellions at the end of 700 lunar years of the Hijra of the prophet, because of what they have altered and changed and substituted in the word of God Almighty, and because of their denying the prophecy of the Chosen [i. e., Mohammed], and their denial of the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, and their making pictures and likenesses in the churches. That is why God laid waste the kingdom of the Children of Israel. But God promised his servants, the prophets, the removal of the pictures and likenesses from the synagogues and temples. And he promised the king by whose hand this removal should be

¹ Sura 5^{23, 24}.² Literally, in two *kurrásas*.³ Sura 5²⁶.⁴ Sura 5²⁹.⁵ Sura 6⁴⁸.

brought about a peaceful kingdom, long life, continuance of power and the submission of the kings of the earth to him. The evidence of this and its proof is that at the end of the recorded periods which the books of revelation indicated, namely, at the end of the 700 lunar years from the (p. 36) Hijra of the prophet, God laid waste the synagogues of the East by the hand of the king Ghâzân.¹ So Ghâzân overcame the troops of the Moslems. But when the Moslems returned from their rout, God inspired them to close the churches; and they closed them according to the noble and pure Moslem law. Then the Moslems went forth to meet their enemies at Shakhâb,² and God gave them the victory.

And with the Children of Israel this was invariably the case. It was thus through all the course of their kingdom. When they made pictures and likenesses they were routed by their enemies; but when they effaced them, they conquered their enemies and their kingdom was quiet.

Now when the Moslems returned, having been rendered victorious over their enemies, the temples were opened and the oaths were nullified. When I saw this, zeal for God Almighty came over me and fear for the Moslems and for their kingdom at the completion of 700 solar years.³ So I set out and went forth with a petition for the forming of a council to consider the belief in God Almighty, in which there should be ten of the learned men of the Jews and ten Christian priests, in the presence of the learned men of the Moslems and in the presence of the king; and in their hands should be the Torah, the Gospels, the Psalms and the books of the prophets; and that I should make clear what they had changed and altered and substituted

¹ Ghâzân Khân, a Mongol prince, converted to Islam in 1295 A.D., and forthwith oppressing the churches and synagogues. As he did this in 1295 (695 of the Hijra), Sa'id's statement is not strictly correct.

² The historical narratives indicate the place of the decisive battle sometimes as Ghabâghib, sometimes as Shakhâb (Goldziher, *ibid.*, p. 10). The date of this battle is Apr., 1303. The context shows that Sa'id believed that the Moslems were victorious because they had closed the houses of prayer of the other beliefs after their first defeat. See also the introduction, above.

³ This can only be $622+700=1322$ A.D. The author fears that the Mohammedans will not be able to preserve their supremacy up to that year, if they do not close the temples of the other beliefs.

in the word of God Almighty; also that I should explain and prove the prophecy of the Chosen (and he is (p. 37) Mohammed ibn Abdallah ibn Abdal-Muttalib) from the Torah, the Gospels, the Psalms, and the books of the prophets; and that I should establish from their books the reasons, the proofs and the arguments for the abolition of pictures and likenesses from the synagogues. Now when this was proposed, assuring to Al-Malik An-Nâsir all that God had promised by the tongue of his prophets and apostles, then the Muftis gave their decision unanimously [saying], "This man approaches God Almighty in a most excellent proximity, and his help in this matter is needed for him who has charge of it." Moreover the Imâms of the religion consented to assemble this council, and the delegates of the king six times gave written permission to assemble it in Egypt and Syria—but it was not assembled. There is no recourse nor strength except in God the exalted and mighty. Verily we belong to God and unto him we shall return.¹

Know that all that I have put into this compendium is of that which is written in the Torah and the books of the prophets; but I have collected it, put it in order, and translated it from the Hebrew and Aramaic languages into the clear Arabic language in which spoke the lord of the first and the last. I have made it a delight for those who will look into it, and I have often named it '*Al-Muhît*,' for it encompasses all the foundations of the exact sciences, the covenants of the faith, the counsels of the [true] religion, the standing-places of the multitude and the paths of the few.

May God bless our lord Mohammed, his family and his friends and give them peace !

This book was composed in the Mosque of the Bani Omayya at Damascus the capital city, in the 12th of the first Rabi', in the year 720.² And praise to God, Lord of the worlds; and may God bless our lord Mohammed and his family and friends, and give them peace. God is sufficient for us and he is an excellent reliance. There is no recourse nor power except in God Almighty. The End.

¹ Sura 2¹⁵¹.

² April, 1320, twenty-two years after his conversion.



